The Nation

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The Week

THE subscription to the second United States war loan, as announced in full at Washington, represents an overwhelming success in this great financial operation. The $4,617,532,000 application is a result which not only would have been deemed incredible a few months ago, but which, as a distinct financial achievement, far surpasses the response to any other Government loan since the war began. The third British war loan of last January did, it is true, elicit a cash subscription of £988,706,000, or, roughly, $4,943,530,000. But that loan was placed a year and a half after the Government's next preceding funded loan, whereas our own issue of last month was offered barely nineteen weeks after the $2,000,000,000 Liberty Loan of June. Furthermore, the British Exchequer's report on the loan of January showed that 2,089,000 separate subscribers had applied, outside of 3,200,000 holders of the small "war saving certificates" who turned in their holdings as subscriptions to the war loan. As against this total of 5,289,000, our own loan has elicited 9,400,000 separate subscriptions—none of which came from holders of war savings certificates, the issue of which our Government has not yet begun.

NO European loan except that British issue has exceeded the $3,200,000,000 subscription which marks the high record in the German war loan subscriptions, and the German loans have been put out at a full six months' interval. No doubt, there will be some feeling of disappointment that what was popularly called the "five-billion goal" has not been reached in our own new loan. But even in this regard it is necessary to recall again that the Treasury never asked officially for more than a $3,000,000,000 subscription to the second war loan. The actual outcome, therefore, has been a 54 per cent. oversubscription; whereas our war loan of June, for which only two-thirds as much was asked as for the recent loan, was oversubscribed by 50 per cent. Except for these two, no other loan of the present war has ever been actually oversubscribed, and the progressive increase in subscriptions shown by the second loan is a most favorable omen for the future.

WE now see the need of revising criticism directed at the Food Controller. In every belligerent country the task which has fallen to Mr. Hoover has proved a difficult and a thankless one. It is not only from the plain citizen that complaints have come about the failure of flour and bread prices to decline immediately upon the fixing of a minimum wheat price. The professional and partisan Hoover baiters have cried out bitterly against the imposition of minimum prices on the farmer to the benefit only of the middleman. But the commercial price-lists show that flour which was selling a month ago at $13.25 a barrel was selling on Tuesday at $11.50. This is still $1.75 above the price of a year ago, but already half the distance from last month's prices to last year's prices has been covered. The decline in the prices of flour reinforced by the plan for the standardized loaf which is soon to be put into effect will bring back the five-cent loaf. It is not to be supposed that the efforts of a Food Controller can ever approach the ideal. But the evidences of progress are so unmistakable that only the partisan to whom facts are a minor consideration will continue to sneer at Mr. Hoover's failure to get results.

OCCASIONAL readjustments of the Government shipbuilding organization are inevitable, and there is nothing in the latest to justify the jeremiads of a "patriotic" society sure that we shall build only a fourth of the 6,000,000 tons planned for 1917 and 1918. Everything indicates that the Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation have been busy. A fortnight ago a committee of builders was named to coöperate with the Government in obtaining materials and men. Several weeks ago a Production Committee headed by Charles A. Piez, engineer and president of a Chicago manufacturing company, was appointed to tour Eastern yards and introduce "efficiency and drive"; and now Mr. Piez, made vice-president of the Fleet Corporation, is reported about to take charge of actual construction under that body. The Labor Adjustment Board has ended the labor troubles in Pacific yards and smoothed the way to general introduction of double and triple shifts. The War Department has announced that shipyard workers will be exempt from the draft, and the Fleet Corporation's Industrial Service Department is taking other steps to increase the labor supply. Chairman Hurley has promised us that, whereas in 1916 American yards turned out about 750,000 tons, they will complete far more in the next four months, launching a full 1,000,000 tons by that time. The difficulties are tremendous—in men alone it is said that 300,000 new workers are needed—and Chairman Hurley sees as well as any one that the programme cannot be carried through "by normal methods, normal energy, or average initiative." But we must not yield to the discouragement of those who think that this enormous work takes an unconscionable time in gaining impetus, and do not appreciate how fast it will gain momentum.

IMAGINATION staggers at the terrible disclosures made of vast quantities of food traitorously concealed in warehouses. Most amazing is the idea that 800,000,000 dozen eggs could have been skulking around in some obscure six-story building off West Street. Equally astounding will appear the statement that twelve million pounds of enemy sugar could be in hiding in some secret alley, and that 100,000 barrels of flour should have been rolling about the city on a dissipated pro-German toot, while Mr. Hoover was scouring the country for the wherewithal to make a standard loaf. Oh, the iniquitous perversity of things! Grain elevators concealing grain, storage warehouses storing away eggs, refrigerating plants keeping tons of beef carcasses refrigerated when they should have been broiling

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on the public spit! Thousands of cans of canned goods lolling in traitorous idleness in wholesale canned-goods houses. "Food enough to feed an army of four million men for two weeks," cries a volunteer saviour of his country, "was found hidden away in these strange places." New York has six million people. Did it perhaps occur to these Friends of the People that these supplies were accumulated so as to assure the people of New York of a food supply for a little more than one week ahead?

CADORNA'S removal from the chief command, even if it takes the traditional form of promotion to a consultative position, has been inevitable. Either extraordinary lack of perception or extraordinary overconfidence must explain the shattering blow which fell upon the Italians on the Isonzo, a stroke which could not have been improvised in a day or a week. Nor does it help Cadorna that in the first moment of despair he charged his own army with cowardice, an accusation which should never have been made, whether true or not. For the welfare of the Allied cause it is to be hoped that the new Inter-Allied Military Committee of three, with Gen. Foch as its virtual head, will not remain the shadowy creation that other Inter-Allied staffs and councils have proved before this. If the French and British reinforcements rushed to the aid of Italy are a sizable army instead of mere artillery troops, one cannot but wait for dramatic developments when the genius of Foch is brought to bear in the war of open manœuvre which is now under way on the Italian plains and in the Alpine foothills. Whenever a Teutonic battle-line consists in part of Austrian troops there is always a good chance for the other side. The invading hosts comprise four Austrian armies and one German army. It thus offers more than one vulnerable point against which the victor of La Fère Champenoise may have an opportunity to try his strength.

OF the French and British troops now reported on their way to the Italian front, the former are entering what is to them historic ground. If the Italian army makes its stand on the Piave, the French, to reach the front, will traverse the scene of the first Napoleon's victories over the Austrians—Castiglione, Arcola, and Rivoli in 1796-97, and of the third Napoleon's great stroke for Italian unity at Solferino in 1859. This is, roughly speaking, the famous region of the Quadrilateral—Mantua, Verona, Peschiera, and Legnago, lying between the Lake of Garda, the Mincio, and the Po. Further north in the Trentine hills the Napoleonic wars also reached. It was from the Trentino that successive Austrian armies set out for the relief of Mantua in 1796, the siege of which was one of Napoleon's failures. In September Masséna occupied Trent and the French armies were sent into the Val Sugana, which has marked the advanced Italian position in the Trentino, but from which it is apparent that they are now in retreat. Several days have elapsed since Berlin announced the falling back of the whole Italian line from the Carnic Alps westward to the Sugana. What has been developing in the silence we can only conjecture. But always there is the possibility that a heavy Teutonic stroke from the Trentino against the Italian line on the Piave might bring serious peril. To hold the line of the Piave the Allies must form an acute salient, with all the risks that such a position involves.

IT is now fairly well established that German success on the Isonzo, which later developed such great proportions, was initiated, in part at least, by the use of poison gas. The Teutonic wedge with which von Below eventually split Cadorna's army seems to have been preceded by a violent gas attack. The Italians have not made a specialty of this mode of warfare as have the English and French, who now far surpass their enemies both in the quantity and in the effectiveness of gases employed. The mountainous nature of the Julian front, and atmospheric conditions there, have made gas bombardments often as dangerous for attackers as attacked. Hence neither Austrians nor Italians had adopted sufficient protective devices, masks, etc. Moreover, we know that the Germans have just invented a new and particularly powerful weapon in their so-called "mustard gas," which has already made its appearance in the West and against which even the excellent masks invented by the English proved only partially effective, since this new product of German chemical ingenuity attacks the entire surface of the body, as well as the respiratory organs. Putting two and two together, therefore, we can partially account for the sudden crumpling up of the Italian line. An unexpected, concentrated barrage of gas shells, containing a new and terrible poison paralyzing the occupants of the trenches from head to foot, would naturally have caused a panic, of which the German forward-surging masses took prompt advantage.

THE British campaign in Syria seems at last to be developing towards ultimate success. The plan is practically the same as that of last year, a plan that met with failure then because of the check at Gaza. Two columns are advancing simultaneously northward, one by way of Beersheba, on the inland route, the other along the coast, by way of Gaza. The coast enterprise, we know, has a railway behind it, built through the Sinai peninsula by way of El-Arish, as well as a pipe-line carrying adequate water supplies. It has, moreover, the support of the English fleet, which must have been of great assistance in the recent battle, although no mention of such aid is made in the dispatches. It seems probable that the Gaza expedition will stick fairly close to the sea and eventually strike at Jaffa, the port of Jerusalem, the navy backing up the attack. Meanwhile, the Beersheba column, which has already advanced to within less than forty miles of Jerusalem, will either aim at the latter directly, or, if it finds the defences too strong, will turn when it reaches the neighborhood of Bethlehem and, marching eastward, cut the Damascus railway, with the object of isolating Medina and forcing its fall. The Turks, under German command, may be expected to make their most determined stand on the Jaffa-Jerusalem line. They have always maintained that they never seriously intended to defend the positions at Gaza; and only the unexpected defeat of the British there last March induced them to stick. At any rate, distances in Palestine are so short that the next few weeks ought to decide whether this season will see British success in the Holy Land.

NOTHING more amusing has happened in a long while than the Colonel's announcement that there was, after all, no national significance in the Mayoralty election, that it merely turned upon local issues. This after his violent assertions before the event that the whole nation hung

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upon the outcome, and that the Kaiser was eagerly watching the vote! But his changed point of view is no more remarkable than that of some of the New York newspapers which the day before the election were printing messages from Wisconsin that that State would regard us as entirely unpatriotic if Hylan won, and declaring that no true patriot would vote for anybody but Mitchel. They, too, felt that a vote for Hylan was a vote for the Kaiser and a vote for Hillquit was a vote for treason. Forty-eight hours later Mr. Hylan's conventional repetition of the statement he had already made in the campaign that he stood behind the President and the war so satisfied them of his loyalty that they are no longer believing that the Kaiser was lying awake nights to learn the vote, and they are no longer shouting that the Republic is in danger.

HOW national will the new National party prove to be? Its policy is apparently reform by log-rolling. The method that has succeeded so well in the great cause of scattering public buildings and river and harbor improvements over the country, with reference not to the interests of the nation but to the desires of localities, is to be tried in other matters. Prohibitionists will aid Single Taxers in the realization of their dream, not because they favor the single tax, but because those who do favor it will reciprocate by helping prohibition. "Loyalist" Socialists will vote for either of these reforms at any time in return for votes for their special programme. By everybody's urging several reforms he does not care about, all will get the one they really want. This is not the announced plan. That limits itself to a few matters upon which the National party is agreed, as prohibition during the war, equal suffrage amendment, maintenance of the maximum of free speech consistent with the national safety, abolition of profiteering, and a few others. But when these are attained, or the end of the war ends most of them, what then?

MASSACHUSETTS has nothing to regret in her election. She retained an excellent Governor by a decisive plurality, and adopted three excellent amendments to her Constitution. One of them, the so-called "anti-aid" amendment, dealt with a question that, delicate everywhere, has been especially delicate there. Should private institutions, educational and philanthropic, receive subsidies from the State Treasury? As many of such institutions in any State are under Catholic control, consideration of the matter meant raising a question the discussion of which, even in this country of separation between church and State, is fraught with the danger of sectarian bitterness. The Constitutional Convention courageously raised it, and submitted a proposal to exclude all private institutions from State aid. Some of the schools that would be worst hit by such a provision, it was pointed out, could save themselves by becoming public through a simple method. It was hoped that the agreement in the Convention would prevent bitterness in the general discussion before the voters, and to a large extent this proved true. Cardinal O'Connell vigorously attacked the proposal as being aimed at his church, but his view of it was evidently not widely shared. An interesting incident of the voting is that Matthew Hale, the Progressive nominated for Lieutenant-Governor by the Democrats, polled fewer votes than the candidate for Governor. Have the Progressives actually shrunk to a minus quantity?

THE proud claim that no city which has tried commission government has ever gone back to the older form can no longer be made. Lynn, Mass., with a population of almost 100,000, has had a commission government for seven years. Yet last week it voted for a new charter of the old type by a decisive majority, the proposal receiving approval in every precinct. The new charter is not even a simplified form of the usual Mayor and Council plan. It provides for eleven Aldermen, four to be chosen at large and seven by wards. This blow at commission government can hardly be softened by allegations that special conditions existed, or that the trouble lay with the use that was made of the system, rather than with the system. These things have been true in many a town under the Mayor and Council plan, but voters, not troubling to fix the blame exactly, yet tired of misgovernment, have called for a commission. It is a bit of poetic justice that at Lynn commission government has suffered from the cause that has in numerous instances operated in its favor.

BEFORE her death, Queen Liliuokalani was said to have lost all antipathy for the United States. It would have seemed a pity for her to pass away cherishing a bitterness that no others of her race now feel. Despite the mistakes of her reign, her opium monopolies and lotteries, she doubtless was devoted to the best interests of Hawaii as she saw them. A woman of culture, composer and author, she was liked by her people. It is said that the Hawaiian Band serenaded her weekly, and that no Hawaiian Legislature has lately met without paying its respects to her in person. Recent reports stated that she had been working upon a dictionary of the Hawaiian language. No deposed ruler under our flag—and including Indian chiefs we have had many—seems to have lived in a more dignified way.

AN audible wail has gone up from managers to the effect that the theatrical business is in dire straits. A terrible blight has hit this year's crop of early plays. As a rule two plays out of three fail anyway, even in normal seasons. But this autumn the proportion has gone up too alarmingly. Various causes are assigned, although patient theatregoers sometimes feel as if there ought to be an explanation of some of the successes as well. There is the war, first of all. But the answer to that is found in the enormous increase of theatrical attendance throughout Europe. Then we come to the war tax. Yet for admission to the few popular plays and the vaudeville houses people are willing to pay a premium, let alone a paltry 10 per cent. The war tax probably deters few but holders of "paper" who would not have paid real money to be present at the première of "Hamlet." The beam of the matter is not in the Government's eye, but in the managerial. Reducing prices of seats won't do. People will not be lured to purchase boredom at a bargain.

THE "dousing" of the huge Broadway signs at eleven o'clock hardly falls into the category of war bread, wheatless days, and half-rations of sugar. If one did not know that humor is impossible in the regulation Washington dispatch, one would suspect irony in the solemn statement: "Figures have been obtained to show that it will be possible to save not less than 50 per cent. of the fuel

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now used in maintaining the signs without working any real hardship." Since New Yorkers who are ambitious for the improvement of their city have long been working for a modification of the orgy of electricity along the "great white way," we think that the assurance that there will be no real hardship in the eleven-o'clock order is well within the bounds of the truth.

A Momentous Decision

IN the excitement of the election the press and public alike have overlooked the vitally important decision handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States on Monday of last week in the case of Buchanan against Warley. By a unanimous decision, our highest tribunal has declared the Louisville city ordinance establishing a segregated district for colored people in direct violation of the Constitution, and, therefore, null and void. "I cannot help thinking," writes to us a distinguished member of the bar, "it is the most important decision that has been made since the Dred Scott case, and, happily, this time it is the right way. I had supposed, however, that the prejudice of some judges might lead them to dissent from the conclusion, but the unanimous opinion of the Court is a great victory for the cause." To Mr. Moorfield Storey, of Boston, who argued the case, and to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which carried it up, congratulations are especially due. When it is recalled that the Chief Justice is from Louisiana and that Mr. McReynolds is a Tennesseean, the significance of the unanimity of the Court is apparent.

It is, of course, not only the Louisville ordinance which is affected, but every other attempt to establish a negro "pale" on American soil. For all time the Supreme Court has laid it down that the most hateful institution of the Russia which has passed away shall not be set up under the American flag. What these Southern cities had undertaken to do was to draw absolute limits around a given district and to say to the colored people that they could not purchase a foot of land upon which to dwell beyond that. It made no difference what the conditions of overcrowding were. Unless private enterprise platted entirely new sections, the negroes were to get on as best they could. It was legislation against thrift, against the desire to rise which all Americans hold so dear, against the acquirement of property, against the right to move about freely and to live where one wishes. Liberty and the pursuit of happiness were denied to any negro who desired to leave the segregated district for the dangerous purpose of seeking better quarters, better light, purer air, better playgrounds, and better associations for his children.

Of course, it was sought to disguise the real meaning of this segregation under the pretence that the purpose was to arrest and prevent racial antagonism. The Supreme Court, in the decision read by Justice Day, admitted the existence of "a serious and difficult problem arising from a feeling of race hostility"; everybody recognizes that this feeling is often intensified in urban communities where the races live in close juxtaposition, and where the pushing into newer sections by a given group may cause financial loss. New York city knows it well, in connection not only with our colored citizens, but with other racial groups and the invasion of trade. What old New Yorker but recalls the cry of rage and dismay when the first shop was opened on Fifth Avenue? But, while recognizing the racial difficulty, the Supreme Court brushes it all aside, saying: "Its solution cannot be promoted by depriving citizens of their Constitutional rights and privileges. The right which the ordinance annulled was the civil right of a white man to dispose of his property, if he saw fit to do so, to a person of color, and of a colored person to make such disposition to a white person." It entirely rejected the theory that the ordinance in question was a legitimate exercise of the police powers of the State, and again upheld the doctrine that the police power cannot, whatever the excuse, override the Constitution—a salutary deliverance just at this time, when magistrates and other officials are deliberately overriding the Constitution under such pretexts as "disorderly conduct."

Indeed, it is a cause for no little satisfaction in this period of flux that we have this remarkable demonstration of the value of a written Constitution. It has been the fashion to abuse it, although we have just seen the curious spectacle of the New York Socialists declaring themselves to be the sole defenders of our organic law. But, as in the case of the "grandfather-clause" laws to disfranchise colored men, the Supreme Court has again shown itself a true bulwark of the liberties and rights of the colored population of the United States. By this last decision it has dealt a severe blow to those reactionaries in the South who seek ever to force the negro into a position of inferiority and to add immeasurably to his difficulties of earning a livelihood and living a useful and respectable life. When the Berea College case was decided by the Supreme Court in favor of the Kentucky law forbidding the co-education of the races, it seemed as if this great tribunal had definitely placed itself on the side of those who would degrade and depress our colored citizenship. That decision, Justice Brewer said, made possible a law forbidding Jews from going to market except during certain hours. This latest decision makes it certain that there will be no "reservations" for Jews or negroes or Chinese, or any other of our racial groups. For this there are millions to-day giving profound thanks and taking new hope as they bear the heavy burdens of the disadvantaged.

The Case for the Railways

LIKE all applications to the Interstate Commerce Board for permission to increase rates, the argument of the railways in the current hearing is surrounded with many technical considerations. Every discussion of the sort has raised such disputable questions as whether the companies were not already earning a sufficiently safe margin of profit, as measured by ordinary railway experience; whether larger economies in operation could not be introduced, and whether higher rates might not react unfavorably on other industries. Previous decisions have been based almost exclusively on the Commission's conclusions regarding these questions.

It appears to us that another set of considerations must in the nature of things be paramount in the present hearing. Argument for or against the actual need of higher rates in a given case ought not cavalierly to be dismissed. Clear and convincing proof that the present rates are all that the railways need for conducting their business with the highest efficiency while maintaining an unimpaired financial

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position, would settle the question now as at any other time. But the underlying circumstances are to-day of a character which will not safely admit of withholding relief on the ground of doubtful conjecture or experimental theory. The country's transportation system, under conditions as they exist, is mobilized as an arm of Government, not only in the Government's plans to manage supplies of food and material, but in the actual conduct of the war. It is not safe to take chances on the efficiency of such a system. Its physical impairment or financial breakdown would be as heavy a blow to the Government's capacity to conduct the war as the crippling of our ocean transport service.

Confronting this aspect of the situation, the Interstate Commissioners cannot fail to look very carefully into the near future as well as the immediate present. They are bound to consider not only facts, but tendencies; and among the tendencies which cannot rightly be ignored, when the railway transportation programme is virtually a part of the Government's war plans, there are the present and prospective scarcity of labor, fuel, and materials, and the present and future influence of such scarcity on operating costs. Nor can clear-sighted judgment properly overlook existing conditions in the money and investment markets. It is of supreme importance that tracks, roadbed, and equipment be kept in the most thoroughly efficient condition, under the heavy strain to which those facilities are and will be subjected by the necessities of war.

But maintenance of such efficiency takes money; and this need arises at the moment when the market for new railway securities is contracted and handicapped, as it has not been in the memory of living men, by the absorption of investment money in the war loans and the total absence of the old-time recourse to European capital. Money for the railways' actual requirements can still be raised; but a much greater part of it than usual ought at this juncture to be provided from surplus earnings of the companies themselves. That is something which cannot be achieved on the basis of narrow adjustment of rates to the minimum of surplus earnings; and as for private capital, that would certainly not be forthcoming at such a time as this, if any doubt existed about the capacity of the companies to earn a respectable surplus with existing freight rates. These are not matters of conjecture or hypothesis. They are outstanding facts, of which recent experience in the financial markets must have convinced every intelligent observer.

We have no doubt that these facts in the situation are recognized by the Interstate Commissioners. Their call for a full and complete statement of actual physical and financial conditions at the moment is a proper policy. If the railways do not need higher rates, such rates ought not to be granted. But the point to which we have endeavored to draw attention is the very great difference which the existing state of war must inevitably cause in the measuring of such necessity. It is not a time for doubtful experiment, still less for well-intended mistakes of policy. Every other arm of the Government is rightly being conducted with a view, first of all, to maximum efficiency in conducting the war and meeting the home situation created by the war. These considerations ought equally to stand first in the matter of the railways.

Very few reasoning people wish the Government to take over the railways, even to the extent that the British Government did at the beginning of the war. In England, the result has been to throw on the Government, at the moment of greatest financial pressure from all other directions, the burden of meeting any shortage in railway revenue below the net receipts of the pre-war period. Nothing would be gained in our own case by that programme, as compared with continued and efficient administration by the voluntary War Board of railway managers. But if our Government is to be free from such increased financial burden on its own part, it must at least make sure that it is leaving the railways in a position where they can reasonably shoulder the burden themselves.

The Agreement with Japan

ON the basis of the official account of the nature and procedure of our agreement with Japan regarding China we are in a position to put aside the one serious doubt which the first brief announcement of the event must have brought to many minds. Here we have been greatly concerned with putting an end to the reign of secret diplomacy in the world, and yet the American people is suddenly informed of an arrangement concluded between the two Governments of which the American people had little cognizance. Here we are looking forward to the time when the relations of the Powers to non-European peoples shall be regulated in something of a world council, yet two Powers seemed attempting the task on their own responsibility. But a closer study of the notes exchanged and of Mr. Lansing's announcement shows that neither objection will hold. What is meant by secret diplomacy is the exchange of pledges between Governments which may remain unknown for years, or perhaps indefinitely, and which are brought into application at a time of crisis. Our understanding with Japan is only a matter of days. No sooner was it arrived at than Mr. Lansing published it to the American people. No one supposes that open diplomacy means that every day in the course of negotiations a bulletin on the subject shall be forthcoming from the State Department. No secret treaty has been sprung on the American people. An exchange of motives and purposes has taken place between two Governments. Should popular opinion in either country disapprove of such agreement, then the arrangement loses its practical validity. What we have had is really an encouraging instance of open diplomacy.

So, too, as to the contents of the agreement formulated by Mr. Lansing and Viscount Ishii. When we speak of secret diplomacy we think of sinister motives that will not bear the light of day. We think of plans of conquest or aggrandizement arranged by the contracting parties at the expense of the outsider. We think of obligations involving armed coöperation for the execution of the joint design. We think, in other words, of new webs spun in the international game. But a secret diplomacy, even if it were truly secret, loses its menace when its aim is the unravelling of international tangles, the clearing away of misunderstandings, the removal of causes of friction, and, by no means least, the welfare of the third party concerned instead of its disadvantage. Both the form and the content of secret diplomacy are repudiated in a single paragraph of the identic note between the two Governments:

> In order to silence mischievous reports that have from time to time been circulated, it is believed by us that a *public* announce-

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ment once more of the desires and intentions of the two Governments with regard to China is desirable.

Here plainly is no case of two Governments embarking on a joint enterprise against a third party. The point, rather, is that two Governments are concerned to remove the suspicions and misunderstandings which have been created as between themselves in regard to a third party. Primarily, the new understanding is not a regulation of Chinese affairs, but a regulation of American-Japanese affairs.

In the reaffirmation of the territorial integrity and independence of China and of the policy of the Open Door, coupled with the acknowledgment of special Japanese interests in those parts of China contiguous to Japanese possessions, we find at the same time the restatement of a basic principle and the frank recognition of a concrete fact. This basic principle is equality of opportunity for all nations in China, grounded upon the independence and integrity of the Chinese Republic. The concrete fact is that such equality of opportunity cannot be distorted to the disadvantage of the natural opportunities which Japan possesses by virtue of her proximity to the mainland of Asia and recent historical developments. Equality of opportunity can only mean that every nation shall have free exercise in developing its natural advantages. We cannot explain away the fact that Japanese commercial harbors lie several thousand miles nearer to China than San Francisco or Seattle. We cannot do away with the fact that Japanese manufacturers, because of conditions of industry in Japan, can compete at an advantage with American or British manufacturers. It is one thing to protest against the closing of the Open Door through illegitimate Japanese pressure at Peking. It is another thing to protest wildly against the peril of a Japanese trade monopoly in China because of fundamental facts of geography and industrial organization in Japan. We need only recall how for many years it has been the habit to deplore our own remissness in developing South American trade which, because of the facts of geography, we have been asked to regard as peculiarly our own. Yet Japan is nearer to China by several thousand miles than we are to South America; and Japan cannot be taken to task for thinking of Chinese trade as "hers," in the sense in which we speak of Latin-American opportunities as "ours."

The professional Japanese hater, to be sure, will find in the recognition of Japan's special interests in China an open road to the establishment of Japanese predominance. Under "special interests," the Hearst publicists will find, no doubt, a free hand for Japan in the control of the Chinese army, or the monopolization of the management of Chinese arms factories, or the establishment of Japanese police power within Chinese territory. To these the only, and the sufficient, answer must be that the reality of the danger is precisely in proportion to our readiness to scent it. If we are convinced, as Mr. Hearst is convinced, that Japan is out to grab China, then every Japanese move will be an act of aggression. If we give credence to the pledges of the Japanese Government regarding Chinese independence and territorial integrity, we can await the event calmly. On the basis of these pledges we can formulate our protests whenever we disagree with Tokio upon the implications of a specific act. The essential thing is to approach the problem with a presumption of Japanese good faith instead of hunting for Machiavellian conspiracies.

The "Cleavage" in Germany

IT is premature to speak of a revolution in Germany. But it is evident that the foundations of her political life are being shaken. Germans themselves are the witnesses. In the declaration of Herr Erzberger, the Centrist leader in the Reichstag, that Germany has already been liberalized, having in five days changed from an autocracy to a democracy, there was patent exaggeration. It dealt with hopes rather than certainties. And the fact of a parliamentary régime having been secured is not so well established as Erzberger would have us believe. Both he and Scheidemann were too sanguine in assuring the outside world that a responsible Government had been set up in Berlin, and that there was no longer reason for "refusing to negotiate peace with Germany on the pretext that she is ruled autocratically." Later dispatches show that the new Chancellor is not inclined to accept control by the Reichstag so fully as had been indicated. And the threat of a military dictatorship is heard as the demands of the representatives of the people are made more urgent. In all this there is probably a good deal of political manœuvring. A temporary compromise is not unlikely. But a fire has been kindled in the public life of Germany that cannot be quenched. The Government is already changed, and can never be again what it was.

Nor do the German people to-day present that united front which they so wonderfully maintained during the first two years of the war. Again, let a German bear testimony. Professor Delbrück, in a recent issue of the *Preussische Jahrbücher,* used the following language in description of the present German mood:

> The consciousness of victory is unbroken, but the cheerful atmosphere in which consciousness of victory is accustomed to breathe is disturbed; it is disturbed not by the heavy sacrifices and sufferings which the war has brought upon us all, but by the dissension, with its mutual accusations and recriminations, as to how the war which we have victoriously fought through is now to be brought to an end, and as to the kind of peace at which we now have to aim. A deep cleavage is dividing our people, a cleavage which by no means corresponds with the old party antagonisms.

This cleavage is seen in many more questions than that merely how to end the war. It affects also political reforms in Germany. The Reichstag debate of last month, leading up to the fall of Chancellor Michaelis, brought out an extraordinary amount of plain speaking. The sharpest differences of opinion were boldly expressed, and the Minister of War, as well as the Chancellor, came in for direct criticism. The cleavage in German sentiment, of which Professor Delbrück wrote, appears in circles not Parliamentary. In the industries, in banking, in shipping, men are found to raise warning voices against the course which the Government has been steering. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of Vienna published in September an article sent to it by "a bourgeois German from the Empire." It was of a tenor that made its passing by the Austrian Censor amazing. For it was a bitter unfolding, from the point of view of middle-class Germans, of the great harm done to the Fatherland by the clique in control of the army and the Government. The writer was aware of the "hatred" now felt for the German nation by nearly the whole world, but declared that it had been brought upon Germany by "these sword-swallowers and fire-eaters who pass as typical rep-

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resentatives of the race." This German business man had many accusing things to say of the insincerities and trickery of the ruling caste, but more pertinent to the question of peace is the following passage:

> . . . It is not possible to range the world like a beast of prey; sooner or later one must be killed by superior numbers. And the German people simply *cannot* live unless it resumes commercial intercourse with other peoples. It cannot nourish its masses without export, and despite all "victorious" commercial treaties, it cannot export without being received once more into the family of the nations.

In this extract is clear implication of a truth which there is much other evidence to show is now penetrating the German consciousness. This is what may be called the increasing moral isolation of Germany. She feels herself outside the family of nations. At first, the general condemnation of the outside world was received with indifference or scorn. But slowly its deep significance has come to be felt. Lord Milner not long ago said that ever larger numbers of sensitive Germans were feeling most keenly the moral barriers which had been erected between their country and most other civilized nations. There is more in it than hurt pride. It has a most practical side. How can industrial and exporting Germany ever hope to recuperate, or to recover anything like her old commercial position, if a settled animosity stands everywhere and for years in the way of her trade?

Ireland, Prosperous but Not Content

IT did not need the latest disclosures about the Sinn Fein to show what a strange conglomerate that movement is. It comprises at once idealists and men with an eye to the main chance, dreamy poets and matter-of-fact plotters, professors, orators, cabmen, ditchers, farmers, and fishermen. The obvious purpose of the leaders is all the while to force the pace. This was the object of the Easter rebellion. That it was brought on by circulating a forged order from Dublin Castle, purporting to contemplate a "massacre" by the police and soldiers, is now asserted. The evidence may not be conclusive, but it is suggestive. When a full-bodied conspiracy gets under way, there is ordinarily not too nice a scruple about the means employed. The main thing with Sinn Fein was to keep driving ahead; to show how obsolete all the old measures of Home Rule for Ireland had become; to start a fire at the back of John Redmond and the Nationalists; and to flout in every way the English Government. Parnell used to lead his eighty-five members of Parliament in a way to reduce both English parties to impotence. The Sinn Feiners have adopted a new fashion of showing contempt. They elect man after man of their own to Parliament, and then these new Irish members will not even go to Westminster to sign the roll of the House of Commons. "We can beat you in the elections, but we will have nothing to do with you."

All this political agitation, with rumors of new uprisings and of plots and counterplots filling the air, goes on at a time when Ireland is enjoying unwonted prosperity. The proof has frequently been adduced. Partly owing to the war, partly in consequence of measures long since taken to improve Irish agriculture and banking and special manufactures, the island is better off to-day than for years past. There is work at good wages for all who want it, supplies are abundant at reasonable prices, and there is a ready market for all that Ireland can produce. The very conditions of political content! But not in Ireland. Her national aspirations have too long been fixed on something other than food and clothes. The hope deferred of her people is only hope intensified. Their age-long demands cannot be killed with kindness. They desire their daily bread—with plenty of butter on it—but they desire something more. Nothing will satisfy them, whether in famine years or fat years, but the fullest possible recognition of their right to administer and control their own local affairs.

There is no doubt that the former Home Rule law, now on the statute books, and only waiting the end of the war to be promulgated, has been outgrown. While England has hesitated, Irish sentiment has marched. Ireland would to-day reject the old measure as mere husks. This is one great reason why the Irish Convention is sitting to devise a new frame of government for Ireland. And this is also a reason why Sinn Fein activity has been mounting, as also the Sinn Fein demand. That an Irish republic—in any real sense of the term—could be set up in absolute independence, probably none of the successors of Pearce believe in their hearts. But trying for a gown of silk may get you a sleeve of it. And it is noteworthy that whenever there is talk of the Irish Convention being on the point of a satisfactory agreement, the Sinn Fein clamor grows louder. The idea seems to be to put the terms as high as possible in order to force as large concessions as possible from the English and from Ulster.

The most sagacious Irish correspondents agree that the outlook is not hopeless, and might even be called promising—were it not for one thing. This is the attitude and the conduct of the permanent English officials in Ireland. The "Castle" has long had a bad reputation as a meddler. A "den of iniquity," Timothy Healy once called it. He might better have said a den of stupidity. For whenever, through the efforts of humane and enlightened men in England, or through proposed legislation by Parliament, things begin to look better in Ireland, the Castle can be counted upon to mar everything. So these past few weeks it has been the work of English officialdom in Ireland which has done most to hamper the Irish Convention and play into the hands of the extremists. Two telling and pathetic letters on this subject were lately printed in the *Manchester Guardian*. They were written by an Irish soldier, home from Flanders on a furlough, and described the painful change which had come over Ireland since he left to go to the war. The mischief he traced almost entirely to the course of the Irish Military Command—that is, to the historic marplot, Dublin Castle. The details we need not dwell upon, but they are of a sort to show once more the futility of trying to govern a sensitive and high-spirited people by antiquated rule of thumb.

"Behold," wrote Matthew Arnold, "the English Government in Ireland!" This was apropos of the saying that the machinery of administration did not matter so much as the spirit in which it was exercised. Herein has lain English blindness. Nor has the Government yet learned that, in some way or other, responsibility for Irish affairs must be placed upon Irishmen. Until that is done, we may have to agree with the Irish writer who contended that the "problem" of Ireland would not be solved until a quarter of an hour before the Day of Judgment.

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What the Bolsheviki Really Want

I

TO speak of the events of the last ten days as only another phase of the question whether Russia will make peace or not is to cling to an error which has persisted too long. The Bolshevik uprising compels a reëxamination of the Revolution as a whole. For all the good will and self-detachment that the outside world might bring to an understanding of the Revolution, it was inevitable that between the foreign observer and the Russians themselves there should be a difference in the angle of approach. The Russians have naturally thought of the war in terms of the Revolution. We, on the outside, have thought of the Revolution in terms of the war. It is not a question here of that selfish and unenlightened school of Allied sentiment to whom the rise of new Russia has had meaning only as it might hasten or delay the defeat of Germany. Brutal and mischievous is the attitude of supposedly influential organs of opinion in this country which, long before the present crisis, sent forth a piteous cry for the return of the Czar to set the Russian steam roller once more into motion. That the Czar's steam roller would have to be stoked into action with the freedom and happiness of one hundred and eighty million souls did not in the least concern these ardent champions of a war for democracy. Let us leave them to their own conscience and judgment. Yet there were others in this country, and doubtless among the western Allies, who were of no mind to demand such a sacrifice from Russia; who were prepared to say that if it was a clear choice for the Russian people between losing their new freedom and abandoning their allies, let Russia go her own way; who understood how badly Russia was in need of peace; but who, in spite of all, acquiesced in the common opinion that the problems of the Revolution were primarily war problems.

It is true that in a perfunctory fashion we have recognized that the Russian people was thinking of something besides war and peace. There was the safeguarding of the Revolution in its elementary political aspects. There was the question of the rights of nationalities within the Russian state. There was the overtowering problem of the restoration of the land to the Russian people. "Land and Freedom" has always been the watchword of revolutionary effort in Russia, with a conflict of opinion whether the transfer of the land was to take the form of confiscation or of purchase. There was the reorganization of industrial life, with another conflict of opinion whether the Socialist cooperative commonwealth could be brought into being at once as the Bolsheviki would have it, or whether the road must simply be cleared for an evolution into Socialism. All these questions we have been dimly aware of without seizing their true proportion in the mind of the Russians themselves. We have imagined that the vital difference between Kerensky and Lenine was one of foreign policy, that Lenine wanted the war stopped at once and that Kerensky wished it to go on as long as the Allied governments thought it necessary.

The Bolshevik or Maximalist thus appeared as the peace-at-any-price man. The Menshivik or Minimalist and his comrades of the Socialist Revolutionist Party were the moderate peace men. What the Bolshevik and the Menshivik thought of the enormously important internal problems of Russia we have known little.

And there is thus much to be said for the great mass of us who have had no access to the innermost springs of Russian action, that we have been confirmed in the belief that peace is the primary difference between the contending factions in Russia, by their own utterances. It is true that Lenine and his followers have stressed the immediate need of peace to be obtained against the will of the Governments if it came to that, and that Kerensky has stood out for Government action at home in coöperation with Government action among the Allies. The Bolsheviki have advocated, and carried through, a suspension of the offensive by the Russian army, whereas Kerensky labored, successfully at first, for a resumption of the offensive. The Bolshevik influence was exerted for the convocation of the two abortive Stockholm conferences, whereas Kerensky would not go to extremes in forcing Stockholm on the Allies. It is true that Kerensky's influence in the country was undermined by his inability or unwillingness to obtain from the Allies a restatement of war aims, and that every such disappointment added to the influence of the Bolsheviki. We may trace a definite connection between the victorious Bolshevik uprising of two weeks ago and the earlier announcement that the long awaited Paris Conference was, after all, to be a war-methods conference and not a war-aims conference. All these incidents would indicate that internal vicissitudes in Russia have been shaped by the question of peace and war; yet a closer study may show that at bottom such has not been the case.

This view is tenable even in face of the fact that the most featured item in the programme of the Lenine government has been the demand for an "immediate democratic peace." Read this programme a little more carefully, and not as displayed in the headlines, nor yet in the order of the clauses in the Leninite proclamations, and it will appear that something more is at stake than the question of peace and war. The Bolshevik plan of November 8 called for (1) immediate democratic peace; (2) the transfer of landed estates to the peasants; (3) the transfer of political authority to the Councils of Workers and Soldiers; (4) the convocation of an "honest" constituent assembly. The Bolshevik exhortation to the armies runs: "For peace, for bread, for land, and for the power of the people." But if we read this programme in the light of a fuller knowledge of Revolutionary conditions and of the utterances of the Bolshevik leaders, there is a case for reversing the avowed order of precedence. We might then read (1) the power of the people; (2) land; (3) bread; (4) peace—if possible.

In other words, what we see now in Russia is the latest phase in the struggle, not between two foreign policies, but between two internal policies. It has been a contest between the moderate programme of a political revolution preparing the way for the progressive realization of the Socialistic ideal—Kerensky—and the immediate realization of the Socialist commonwealth—Lenine. The Bolshevik conception—Lenine has virtually said it—is as follows: We had one revolution when the Czarism was overthrown. We have now put through a second revolution by deposing Kerensky and putting the powers of government into the hands of the "people." When we have given the land to the peasants and the instruments of production

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to the industrial workers, we shall have put through the third, the final, *the* Revolution.

II

Let us for the moment try to forget the war and attempt a summary of the Revolution from its beginnings as a purely domestic event. In the second week of March the Czarism is overthrown by a national upheaval. The army, the fleet, the working masses in the towns, the middle classes, all take part. There is created a "bourgeois" Provisional Government containing only one Socialist representative, Kerensky. Even before the establishment of a Provisional Government there have arisen the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates, the famous Soviets, which are entirely Socialist in character, and which, by their control of the army and the civilian masses, exercise the real power in Russia. If the Socialist Soviets nevertheless acquiesce in an apparently superfluous "Government," it is because there must be national unanimity during the first few perilous weeks of the new régime. The Provisional Government, in its turn, acquiesces in the famous Order Number 1 for the subversion of discipline in the army, partly perhaps because it must bow to the Socialists, in part because the Revolution will perish if the army cannot be held to its support.

The winning over of the army is speedily assured. The danger of a march upon Petrograd by a monarchist General disappears. Simultaneously, the class conflict reappears. The antagonism between Socialist and "bourgeois," which has been the commonplace of Socialist agitation for years back, manifests itself. In April the leaders of militant Socialism, Lenine from Switzerland, Trotzky from the United States, appear on the scene. Socialists are reminded of the old question whether a revolution produced by the "people" is to be "stolen" by the middle class. Kerensky's presence in the "bourgeois" cabinet is no guarantee; for recent history in other countries is rich in examples of Socialist ministers who enter bourgeois cabinets and are seduced out of their allegiance, or outwitted. So the Soviets begin their offensive upon the Provisional Government, whose outstanding figure, Paul Milyukov, is also its most vulnerable figure because of his pronounced imperialism. Russia's great longing for peace is made the issue. Milyukov boldly challenges the Soviets, during the first days of May and is overthrown. The Soviets, still under the control of the moderate Socialists, are not yet ready to assume the entire responsibility of Government, and a coalition Ministry of "bourgeois" and Socialists is organized, and the first article in its programme is the attainment of a speedy peace without annexations and without indemnities.

But the ultra-Socialists are by no means reconciled to the policy of coöperation with the bourgeois, even in a Government of predominantly Socialistic tinge. Kerensky, Tseretelli, Skobelev, as Cabinet Ministers, will only repeat the sad disillusions of Millerand, Briand, and Viviani in France. And, as a matter of fact, Kerensky has all along revealed tendencies towards "reaction." He is for a continuation of the war until Germany is beaten. He is for the restoration of discipline in the army and a resumption of the offensive. These are the ostensible charges against the policy of coalition. The real opposition is concerned with Russia's internal problems. A coalition Government will consent to the transfer of the land to the peasants, but will insist on compensation. It will promote the interests of the labor masses, but will insist that the establishment of the Socialist coöperative commonwealth can come only with time. It will call a Constituent Assembly, but it will be an assembly in which the middle classes will be represented, in which they may even predominate, and not an "honest" Constituent such as Lenine promises to-day. Under continued pressure, the Provisional Government enters on its third phase. Kerensky organizes a new Cabinet. The most forceful of the "bourgeois" members of the Cabinet retire; only figureheads like Nekrassov or extreme radicals like Terestchenko remain. Nevertheless Kerensky himself is tainted with the poison of compromise. In the first days of July he personally leads the armies in Galicia to battle.

Even in the Soviets the Bolsheviki are in a minority, but their leaders are resolute and they have the most militant popular elements of Petrograd behind them. As a rejoinder to Kerensky's offensive in Galicia they attempt a "demonstration" in the streets of Petrograd, and are suppressed with bloodshed. Kerensky, on the other hand, perhaps because he is not secure enough, more probably because it is not in him to train the guns on his former comrades in Socialism, does not resort to retaliation, though the Bolshevik rioters are kept in mild confinement. The Bolsheviki bide their time. And time works in their favor. Kerensky is unable to redeem his pledge of bringing the Allies to a restatement of war aims. Signs of counter-revolution appear. The middle classes grow restive. In the second week of September, the menace of counter-revolution takes form in the Kornilov demonstration. The peril of the moment unites Bolsheviki and moderate Socialists; but when the crisis is over the Bolsheviki have found new material for their war on Kerensky, who is the "accomplice" or the "tool" of the reactionaries. "Conciliation" alone made Kornilov possible. There is no putting faith in the bourgeois, whose purposes are not the vindication of the national honor and the territorial integrity of Russia as they profess—so would run the Bolshevik argument—but plain fear of true Socialism. The landlords fear for their estates, and the town bourgeois for their wealth and control of industry.

There follow upon the Kornilov crisis two months of preparation for the final struggle, for the destruction of Kerensky and the policy of compromise, and for the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth. The question of peace remains the ostensible issue, for the simple reason that it has immense appeal to a war-weary people released from the ties of discipline. Kerensky's prestige fades as the weeks go by and there is no response from the Allies to Russia's plea for a statement of war aims. Yet Kerensky has shown such marvellous skill in weathering crisis after crisis that another peril looms up for the Bolsheviki. That very peace for which they are striving may come too suddenly for their purposes. There is talk of peace in every belligerent country. If the war should end with Kerensky in power it would mean his remaining in power and an end to the ultra-Socialist plan of a completely revolutionized Russia. So the Bolsheviki gather themselves for a *coup de main.* It is delivered on November 8, and succeeds. The Bolsheviki win on the issue of an immediate democratic peace. But the real victory is less for peace than for the immediate realization of the Socialist commonwealth. Lenine, who is eager to destroy the capitalists and put industry under the control of the workers, is joined by

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Tchernov, of Kerensky's own Socialist Revolutionist Party, who wants to destroy the landlords and give the soil to the peasants at once. It is not a radical foreign policy, but a radical domestic policy that has triumphed.

It would be idle to assert that the Bolshevik slogan of immediate peace is entirely insincere, a species of elaborate *camouflage* for the enactment of a social revolution. The case has here been purposely overstated to emphasize a phase which has hitherto received scant attention. It may be that the Bolsheviki are more "internationally minded" than Kerensky, and that some of them are willing to have Russia pay for the advancement of universal Socialism. The simple element of fanaticism will explain in part the Bolshevik scheme of a peace to be brought about by the rising of the proletariat of every country against the "masters." Nevertheless the probability is strong that the peace issue has been employed by the Bolsheviki to seize control of Russia for the realization of their own schemes of internal reconstruction.

III

If the preceding analysis comes close to the truth, the implication is obvious for the question which the outside world is now asking, How near is Russia to a separate peace? If we believe that the primary purpose of the Bolsheviki was the conquest of power within Russia and that their interest in peace is subsidiary, then peace recedes into the distance. A gross parallel would be the emphasis laid upon an issue by a candidate before election and after. We need not accuse the Bolsheviki of hypocrisy. They will undoubtedly do their best to get peace; since peace would perpetuate them in power. But it is absurd to suppose that it is only of peace they are thinking. Kerensky, too, wanted peace. He asked the Russian people to be patient while he negotiated with the Allied Governments. Lenine has virtually asked the Russian people to be patient while he is negotiating with the proletariat of all the belligerent countries. And in the meanwhile the "honest" Constituent Assembly will be convened and the attempt will be made to put through "real" revolution, the expropriation of the landlords, the expropriation of the factory owners, the intrenchment of the proletariat in the Government. This forecast is not mere supposition. It is based on the programmes and utterances so far enunciated by the Bolshevik Government. It proposes immediate democratic peace negotiated by the "elected representatives of the belligerent peoples." But how immediately will such elections take place, in Germany, in Great Britain, in France, in the United States? If the Governments once more refuse to give passports to their trade-union leaders for a final Stockholm Congress, what then? Are we to look to the proletariat in these countries to rise against the Governments? The future may hold even this in store, but hardly the immediate future. Unless Lenine is willing to do business with William II the Russian people will have to wait for their immediate democratic peace. But it is not impossible that they may consent to wait if in the meanwhile the land, the factories, and the Government of Russia are being delivered to them.

SIMEON STRUNSKY

Why Mr. Roosevelt and the Rest of Us Are at War

WHEN Mr. Roosevelt's mind is not inflamed by passion, it keeps him pretty well in the middle of the road. A man who has been President of All the People is apt to be a genuine believer in the Golden Mean. He has had incomparable opportunities to discover the wide and deep duplicity of human desires. He has stood for years at a point where vast, opposite, and nearly equal forces have met, each seeking to sweep him before it. He knows in the depth of his heart that his lauded stability in crises was due largely to his sheer inability to move hastily or far between the contending pressures of the interests besieging him. Extremists on both sides have called him a trimmer, as Wendell Phillips called Lincoln a trimmer; but he knows that he has been quite literally a *well-balanced* man. Critics without insight into the mysteries of government have failed to appreciate Mr. Roosevelt's Aristotelianism. They have undervalued his golden platitudes, and have made game of the well-balanced style in many of his public utterances: "On the one hand, I applaud the honest capitalist; on the other hand, I applaud the honest laboring man"; "Just as I reward the well-doer, exactly in the same way do I punish the evil-doer." The sympathetic critic recognizes in this stylistic habit the mark of a mind truly impressed with the two-sidedness of things—a mind which if not just is at least infatuated with the idea of justice. Even when Mr. Roosevelt's mind is in a state of general conflagration, as it has been much of the time since 1908, it seems to continue more or less automatically its two-handed motions of balance and compensation. If he detests the German Government, on the one hand, he detests the American Government on the other. Just as he insists on being right half of the time, exactly in the same way he insists on being wrong the other half of the time. And so his new miscellany, "The Foes of Our Own Household,"* falls easily into two parts. Just as one of them was written by a judicious, progressive, and patriotic Aristotelian, exactly in the same way the other was written by a wilful, angry, and furiously inequitable extremist.

I

The judicious, progressive, and patriotic notes in this book are chiefly audible in the chapters on Law Enforcement, Industrial Justice, Social Justice, Socialism Versus Social Control, The Farmer, and The Word of Micah. Mr. Roosevelt's conception of government as a positive, helpful, creative force, frequently initiating as well as controlling social enterprises, is essentially sound. Much of his criticism of our laissez-faire disposition in the presence of conflicting interests which are nation-wide, is timely and weighty. His interest in and his habit of calling attention to such experiments as the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, the Raiffeisen system of rural credits, and the co-operative movements in North Dakota and North Carolina, are most commendable. His steering of a middle course between the extremes of individualism and the extremes of collectivism is, at times, eminently skilful. On the one hand, he scornfully condemns those who shrink aghast from any project because its tendency is "socialistic." On the

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other hand, he declares that practically at the present time "there is more need of refutation of the creed of absolute socialism than of the creed of absolute individualism; for it happens that at the present time a greater number of visionaries, both sinister and merely dreamy, believe in the former than in the latter." Just as he asserts on the one hand that "the prime necessity is governmental action," so he asserts on the other hand that, wherever voluntary association and effort are possible, they are to be applauded, encouraged, and preferred. Governmental action, he declares, "must have for its goal the guidance of all the men in any business, from the top to the bottom, so that they may severally and jointly make the best use of their lives, and help all of us to make the best use of our common national life." But since 1908 governmental action itself, he intimates, has needed from top to bottom the guidance of a certain eminent individual. As on the one hand he condemns with vigor "the social and administrative nihilism taught by philosophers like Herbert Spencer," so on the other hand he condemns with a smashing blow the idea of "a glorified state free-lunch counter and state foundling asylum" advocated by the fanatical and lubrical wing of the Socialists.

In matters of personal and domestic morality, furthermore, Mr. Roosevelt animates many sensible precepts with energetic and wholesome emotion. His thoroughly characteristic approbation of American family life is conveyed in part by his inscription: "To our sons and daughters their mother and I dedicate this work." He comes out squarely for the wife's equality with the husband in the right to education, suffrage, and the disposition of the family's income. He would put no bar between any woman and any "economic opportunity"; but he argues, very clearly and with good temper, that for the ordinary woman the richest economic opportunity is in the home. He extols the great principle that at the other end of every "right" there is an "obligation"; and he is strong, of course, upon the elementary obligation which rests upon every good citizen to reproduce his species. With a saving clause to the effect that he believes in checking, if possible, excess birth among the "submerged tenth," he expends most of his force in reprehending the Harvard and Yale graduates whose delinquency in fulfilling their obligations threatens the decimation of their species. He praises the Puritans for their invaluable contribution to the fibre of personal and national character, but he reprehends their confusion of vice with pleasure. He effectively quotes Emerson on the youth's reply to Duty; and his inscription for the Testaments of our departing soldiers strikes the right chord of valor and Christian compassion, a chord which Lincoln, for example, almost invariably struck when he addressed his countrymen on his Great War: "Fight valiantly against the armies of Germany and Turkey. . . . Love mercy; treat prisoners well; succor the wounded; treat every woman as if she were your sister; care for the little children, and be tender with the old and helpless."

II

Turn we now from the field of personal morals to the field of historical science. Mr. Roosevelt is not merely an ex-President of the United States. He is also an historian and an ex-President of the American Historical Association. His chapter on Washington and Lincoln throws many interesting sidelights on the relation between historical scholarship and political propaganda. If, instead of our makeshift inheritance from the Revolutionary Fathers, we had in this country a good, thoroughgoing Prussian form of government, acting vigorously for "the *guidance* of all the men in any business, from the top to the bottom," the methods and objects of historical science would presumably be defined and illustrated and, in considerable measure, controlled by a powerful Ministry of Education. If Mr. Roosevelt were not occupied with the duties of Field-Marshal or Admiral, he would be the ideal man for the Education Minister. That should be evident to any one who examines his purposeful interpretations of the words and works of Washington and Lincoln under the text: "Let us to-day do as they did and practice what they preached."

"*They* did not 'keep us out of war,'" says Mr. Roosevelt, italicizing "they"—even his italics are rich in latent meaning. In the Farewell Address of 1796, three years after his proclamation of "neutrality" towards the struggle in Europe for "human freedom," Washington reaffirmed his policy in these words: "After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty to take, a neutral position."

"Washington's Farewell Address," says Mr. Roosevelt, "contains advice which is permanently applicable." For an example Mr. Roosevelt cites Washington's reprobation of "permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations." This he interprets as a reprehension of the Francophiles who were stirring up antipathy to England, and he applies it to the "sinister enemies of our country" who are to-day stirring up antipathy to England. Like an *echt deutscher* professor, Mr. Roosevelt hurries over, with little rows of inarticulate dots, the passages in Washington's speech which equally reprobate "passionate attachments" and "habitual fondness." As a matter of fact, as distinguished from politics, the famous passage which Mr. Roosevelt thus garbles is counsel for a *neutral*, unallied nation, and not at all, as Mr. Roosevelt makes it, a plea for England as against France.

No one should forget, says Mr. Roosevelt, Washington's "unwearied persistence that military preparedness is essential to our self-respect and usefulness"; and he seeks to convey the impression that Washington's last word to the American people was that whoever failed to uphold "universal, obligatory, military service" would be false to his memory. But, as every student of the Farewell Address knows, Washington was speaking to a neutral nation at peace, and was primarily counselling it on the way to remain at peace with all men, and so to preserve the liberty which he called "the favorite object of my heart"; and the burden of his "military" message was a warning against the excesses of a military spirit; by virtue of the Union, he said, the States would "avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty."

Mr. Roosevelt says that no American should ever forget Washington's "appeals to our people that they should cherish the American nationality as something indestructible from within and as separating us in clear-cut manner from all other nations." Our historian does not cite verse for this emphasis upon a clear-cut separateness; but in Washington's day there *was* certainly something rather novel

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and distinct in the character of the American nation. Did Washington wish to preserve that distinction as the exclusive and peculiar property of the United States? Far from desiring the perpetuity of our clear-cut separateness, he expressed a hope that "the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of their blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the *adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.*" He looked forward to a world democratized by the inherent attractiveness of democracy, and so to a world in which the most salient characteristic of our nationality would lose its distinctiveness.

Mr. Roosevelt says that "whoever believes that there are times when it is not well to arouse the spirit of patriotism" is false to the teachings of Washington. Having pursued for three years his policy of neutrality towards "the struggle for human freedom" in Europe, Washington said: "Cultivate peace and harmony with all: religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it?"

Mr. Roosevelt ignores Washington's resolute neutrality, his equal warning against both antipathies and attachments, his warning against "overgrown military establishments," his desire for the pacific democratization of the world, his hope that America might make a grand and novel experiment in national conduct by acting uniformly on principles of exalted justice and benevolence. He ignores these things, like an *echt deutscher* professor of history, because these are the things that Mr. Wilson preached and practiced in the recent period of our neutrality.

When the pressure of circumstances persuaded Mr. Wilson that it was no longer expedient or possible to keep the country out of the conflict, our historian, who had previously derided him for not going to war, derided him for going to war. On what grounds? On historical grounds, to be sure: Mr. Wilson was reëlected because "he kept us out of war." Washington and Lincoln, says Mr. Roosevelt, "never sought or accepted office on a platform which they cynically repudiated when once they had secured office." Here is a choice bit of historical hermeneutics. In his first inaugural address, March 4, 1861, Lincoln said:

> Apprehensions seem to exist among the people of the Southern States that, by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery, in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear, emphatic resolution which I now read: [Resolution affirming the right of each State to control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively.] I now reiterate these sentiments.

A month later Lincoln was at war with the States that he had just solemnly reassured, and in less than two years he had abolished their property in slaves and their ancient institution of slavery.

In order to show that Lincoln would listen to nothing but an overwhelming military defeat of the Southern armies, Mr. Roosevelt garbles Lincoln's famous letter to J. C. Conkling, and makes Lincoln appear to say that a compromise is impossible, because peace conventions accomplish nothing, and because "peace can be obtained only by armed strength backing right." What Lincoln actually said was that at the time he thought a compromise impossible because he had received no word from the rebel army, or from those in control of it, intimating a desire to compromise. "I promise you," he added, "that if any such proposition shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept a secret from you." And far from laying down the general principle that Right must perpetually keep her warpaint on, he said that he hoped peace would come soon and come to stay and in a form worth keeping for all time: "It will then have been proved that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet."

In pursuit of his thesis that Lincoln would have disapproved of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Roosevelt says: "To those who desired peace without victory he [Lincoln] answered that in order to secure a just and lasting peace he would, if necessary, continue the war until all the wealth piled up by the bondsman's two hundred years of unrequited toil should be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash had been paid by another drawn with the sword." What Lincoln actually said was: "Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'" In brief the sense of Lincoln's words is this: "God, give us peace; but Thy will, not mine, be done"—a characteristic bit of Lincolnian piety which Mr. Roosevelt has, with curious ingenuity, garbled into a threat.

But our historian is bound by hook or crook to conceal the striking parallel between Lincoln's course in the war and Mr. Wilson's. Both men conceived it as their first duty to preserve the unity and integrity of the nation. So long as they deemed compromise conducive to the performance of that duty both men compromised; both men undeniably tolerated month after month the continuance of a terrible iniquity. But just as soon as they were resolved that further toleration of iniquity would hinder, not help, in preserving the unity and integrity of the nation, they ceased to compromise.

I wander, however, from my point, which was merely to call attention to the relation between historical scholarship and political propaganda, and to emphasize Mr. Roosevelt's qualifications for Minister of Public Instruction in a Deutsch-Reformed Government. Any man who desires to believe that Washington and Lincoln saw eye to eye with

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Mr. Roosevelt should give his days and nights to the study of "The Foes of Our Own Household"; but any man who desires to know what Washington and Lincoln actually thought and said had better go to the original documents.

Much of the rest of the book becomes clearer if one reads it backwards from the last sentence in the seventh appendix, which contains Mr. Baker's patient and courteous replies, and Mr. Roosevelt's dogged and scornful demands for a command in France: "President Wilson's reasons for refusing my offer had nothing to do either with military considerations or with the public needs." No *camouflage* can cover the pervasive ugliness of the sustained malignity with which Mr. Roosevelt seeks by direct accusation and incessant innuendo to heap contempt upon Mr. Wilson's government—upon the President in particular and upon his Secretaries and military advisers:

> A combination of glib sophistry with the feeble sham-amiability which obviously springs from fear, was of small value when we were forced by stern and brutal men with guns in their hands (pp. 36-37).
>
> The Administration's inveterate habit of shuffling obscured the truth for the first sixty days (p. 38).
>
> The task of our Government during the last four years in foreign affairs has not been difficult. It has been exceptionally easy, and yet it has been wretchedly performed (p. 44).
>
> There would have been none of the shortage that has actually occurred if only the right kind of appeal for volunteers had been made and the proper methods of using and developing them had been adopted (p. 48).
>
> The threatened danger [of a railway strike in 1916] was due entirely to the character of the men we had in public office, and to their actions in view of the pending political campaign, and no plan will ever permit us to escape such danger as long as we have such public servants (p. 108).
>
> Some thirty American non-combatants were killed before a case occurred in which the Germans consented to commit murder in such fashion as to violate all, instead of merely some, of the rules our Government had laid down as guides for the justifiable homicide of peaceful Americans going about their lawful business on the high sea (p. 35).
>
> My Dear Mr. Secretary [Mr. Baker], the proposal as you outline and adopt it, must come from doubtless well-meaning military men, of the red-tape and pipe-clay school, who are hidebound in the pedantry of that kind of wooden militarism which is only one degree worse than its extreme opposite (p. 320).

Three leading questions present themselves as one considers this little garland of good-will. The first is this: If the American people freely choose national leaders for their glib sophistry, sham amiability, shuffling, cowardice, and general incompetency, what is the basis of Mr. Roosevelt's belief in governmental action as the prime agent of national progress? The second is this: Since Mr. Roosevelt has himself characterized the national Administration as incompetent, yellow, shuffling, sham-amiable, and sophistical, how can he without preposterous inconsistency condemn German-American editors for "sneering at and misrepresenting our country"—for, in short, agreeing with him? The third is this: Since Germany exhibits exactly those characteristics the lack of which he deplores in America, namely, strenuous governmental control, universal obligatory military service, vigorous national self-assertion, unbounded military courage, and absolutely first-rate military preparedness, how can he decently condemn German-American editors for "praising and upholding Germany and the Kaiser in extravagant terms"? Mr. Roosevelt does not relish German "efficiency" when it strikes at America; but up to the point of the stroke, he is temperamentally and philosophically an ardent admirer of the German system. We agree with Mr. Roosevelt that a man who still asks "why we are at war" should look to his own soul. We are at war because there is an irrepressible conflict between the German system and democratic self-government.

With a shout of derision, Mr. Roosevelt pitches upon some remarks attributed to Mr. Baker: "I delight in the fact that when we entered this war we were not, like our adversary, ready for it, anxious for it, prepared for it, and inviting it. Accustomed to peace, we were not ready." The overwhelming majority of the American people will perfectly understand that utterance and sympathize with it. In exactly the same sense the English people, in the midst of a tremendous emergency, have very generally pointed, with a kind of tragic pride and joy, to the fact that they were *not prepared*, as the irrefutable evidence of their pacific intentions and as the substantial vindication of their honor in the community of nations. The noblest of our young soldiers going to the war are sustained and fortified and inspired by their knowledge that they are not the hardened warriors of an ancient armed camp; that they are civilians, lovers of civil life, emergency men, called in a bitter crisis to defend the peace of a nation dedicated to peace and devoted to the pursuits of peace. From every trench of the Allied armies we have heard, from the outset of the conflict, that the hope of "the plain people," for whom Mr. Roosevelt has always professed such fondness—the hope which heartens the tradesman, the clerk, the mechanic, the farmer to leave their dear homes and their wives and their children and to rush into the devouring jaws of battle—is that this war is "to crush militarism," "to end war," "to make the world safe" for civil life, so that the unutterable horror of twenty millions of civilized human beings blowing one another to bits shall not insult the face of the earth any more forever. For this immense hope we offer this immense sacrifice.

Does Mr. Roosevelt show any inclination to sanction or support that great sustaining and unifying hope of the plain people? Not the slightest. He is the fervid advocate of militarism. Does he apply his great practical sagacity and his experience as a statesman to the imperative task of devising the mechanism of international control? Not at all. He is too busy applying his great powers of vituperation to deriding and vilifying the lovers of peace, whate'er their name or sign. Thereby he condemns the purpose of the plain men in the trenches, and strikes from their bloody lips the cup of the hope of a final peace, which alleviates the agony of death. Thereby he insults the morals and the religion of millions of men to whom "peace" is not, as he makes it, almost the antithesis of "righteousness," but a sacred, integral part of righteousness. Thereby he betrays his contempt for the multitudes of young men who, as they resolutely face the fires of hell, cheer themselves and cheer the heart of all the civil world by that inspiring warcry, "Never again!" Never again must the bungling white-faced governors of this earth be allowed through the long years of peace to mobilize the wealth and the will and the bodies and the minds and the emotions and the morals of nations for massacre. This last fight we fight against the militaristic oligarchs of Germany, who, with devilish craft, have hammered their plain people into the direst destroying bludgeon ever yet brandished in the face of the God of righteousness and peace.

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This last fight we fight that our children may enter into our reward. This last fight we fight in the name of God, that righteousness and peace may meet together henceforth forever. Then once more into the breach, dear friends, once more; for victory in the cause for which we fight means, "Never again!"

Never again? Does Mr. Roosevelt say amen to that? Not at all. He saith Ha, ha, among the trumpets; and he smelleth the next battle afar off. Apparently he cannot contemplate with equanimity a future in which our children shall be deprived of the "glory" of battle with their peers. Already he is crying out upon the Administration for not, under cover of the present crisis, seizing the opportunity to fix upon the American people in perpetuity the system of universal obligatory military service so dear to his fighting blood. For already he is looking around for a new foe and looking forward to another fine engagement of embattled nations. If we have a shred of commonsense, *he* declares (*not* Bernhardi), we will see to it "that we shall be ready for *the next war*." What "ready" means, Mr. Roosevelt and the God of Battles alone know; but for that impending conflict he proposes to put in training every man and every woman of the democracy. He or she that will not train for the war shall not vote. With this conflict in view, he feels his chief anxiety about the vital statistics of Harvard and Yale graduates, and writes his eulogium on the poverty-stricken woman who has brought up fourteen children. "If our birth-rate continues to diminish," he remarks without much reference to our immigration, "we shall by the end of this century be impotent in the face of Powers like Germany, Russia, or Japan." No: Mr. Roosevelt's will does not say "Never again."

Apparently, therefore, it is Mr. Roosevelt and not Mr. Wilson who desires a peace without victory for the cause of the Allies—for the cause of America. Victory for the Allies means the destruction of militarism. Victory for Mr. Roosevelt means the permanent establishment of militarism in the United States. Victory for Mr. Wilson means the aggrandizement of democracy. Victory for Mr. Roosevelt means the aggrandizement of the United States. Why does Mr. Roosevelt desire the aggrandizement of the United States? Because we are, he intimates (in spite of our shuffling, cowardly, incompetent government)—because we are "the hope of the world"! He who says that America is the hope of the world knows perfectly well that it is not. He says precisely what the Germans are saying about Germany; precisely what the Frenchmen are saying about France; precisely what the Englishmen are saying about England. Precisely what the citizens of all nations are saying—except those who stop, as Mr. Roosevelt does not, to think. Those who stop to think acknowledge that Germany is the hope of Germans just as America is the hope of Americans and France the hope of Frenchmen. The hope of the *world* is the deep hope of mankind, passing all frontiers, that these nations may learn to dwell together in amity.

The great task of statesmanship at the present time is to insure that hope against all disaster. One—not the only—powerful means of insuring it is to keep it prominently before the minds of men and to recommend it constantly to their sympathies and their prayers. All the inspiring leaders of the Allies, including Mr. Wilson, have adopted that means. They have all been teaching their citizens and their soldiers to think and feel and fight in terms of the world's welfare. And they have not found that their soldiers fight any the worse when they fight for what they believe in, for the common cause, for the great hope of the plain people of the world. They have all been inculcating a comparatively new type of national pride—*a pride measured directly by the service which the nation is rendering to the cause of mankind.* Having denounced among the Germans that selfish, brutal, and megalomaniac national pride which set the world on fire, wise statesmen have curbed and rebuked in themselves and in their compatriots their natural and traditional tendency to utter boasting and inflammatory appeals to a self-centred, self-sufficient, exclusively self-regarding national spirit.

Dipping at random into Mr. Archer's choice collection, "Gems of German Thought," I extract two specimens of a national pride which is intolerable in a family of nations:

> We are indubitably the most martial nation in the world. . . . We are the most gifted of nations in all the domains of science and art. We are the best colonists, the best sailors, and even the best traders! And yet we have not up to now secured our due share in the heritage of the world. . . . That the German Empire is not the end but the beginning of our national development is an obvious truth.
>
> We must develop, not into "Europeans," but into ever higher Germans. . . . What sort of European would be formed by a mixture of the heroic German with the calculating Englishman? If the result was a man who thought half-calculatingly and half-heroically, it would be an exaltation for the Englishman, but a degradation for the German.

This sort of thing, we are all beginning to recognize, is a moral preparation for war. And now listen to the patriot of our own household pulling out the stops in the big pipe-organ of national self-satisfaction:

> This is a new nation on a mighty continent, of boundless possibilities. No other nation in the world has such resources. No other nation has ever been so favored. If we dare to rise level to the opportunities offered us, our destiny will be vast beyond the power of imagination. We must master this destiny, and make it our own; and we can thus make it our own only if we, as a vigorous and separate nation, develop a great and wonderful nationality, distinctively different from any other nationality, of either the present or the past. For such a nation all of us can well afford to give up all other allegiances, and high of heart to stand, a mighty and united people, facing a future of glorious promise.

If one considers well the implications of this paragraph in connection with Mr. Roosevelt's general political philosophy, one may discover why Mr. Roosevelt is "at war," and why he rejects with so much contempt the official explanations of our national course. He has, *mutatis mutandis*, the *Weltanschauung* of a German statesman. The international point of view he regards as the refuge of weaklings. His own state is his supreme reality and his highest political conception. He opposes, however, the Revolutionary ideas in which his own state had its origin. He abominates all the necessary "red-tape" of democratic procedure. He wants a government which will take its people in hand, as the German Government has done, and mould them swiftly and firmly into a shape which not the people but the Government determines. He is not at war to make the world safe for democracy; he is at war to make the world safe for America. He really prefers to say that he is at war to avenge insult and injury; for, as he asserts in another connection, "The fundamental instincts are not only the basic but the loftiest instincts in human nature." What he hopes to get out of the war is not a new lease for democracy, liberty, and fraternity, but an im-

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mensely strengthened national government, a highly intensified military spirit, a permanently established universal military service, and a grim determination to keep up the population for "the next war," so that when Uncle Sam shakes his sabre the rattle thereof may be heard and dreaded throughout the hemisphere—and beyond.

Now, to speak it frankly, it is not the Socialists, the radicals, the "professional pacifists" only, but the fighting men and the plain people everywhere who are growing unspeakably weary of that kind of cheery, energetic preparation for repeating on into the indefinite future the bloody history of the last three years. The hearts and minds of men in all the Allied lands have been enlisted for the express and declared object of terminating forever the barbaric rite of wholesale human sacrifice. They have been summoned from the ends of the earth specifically to slay in the Prussian labyrinth the black-faced Minotaur of militarism, to which they have hitherto paid perennial tribute. Americans have responded in the faith of their fathers, undaunted by the cynics or the savages, trusting that the children of men who in this country brought to an ultimate end the ancient institution of monarchy and the world-old institution of slavery need not despair of success in undertaking the radical abolition of a third, equally hoary iniquity. It is not their purpose to substitute the menace of an American militarism for the menace of a German militarism. It is their purpose to make a secure and lasting quietude for all the peace-loving, self-governing peoples of the world. If Mr. Roosevelt is against this object, he is against this war.

STUART P. SHERMAN

The Allen Eaton Case

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Of all the instances of the infringement of the professorial right of independence of speech and conscience since the beginning of the war, none is more deserving of the attention of the Association of University Professors than that of Allen Eaton, an instructor in the University of Oregon, whose resignation was accepted by the regents of the University merely because he attended the meeting of the People's Council in Chicago, and contributed a letter concerning it to an Oregon newspaper. It is not alleged that Mr. Eaton was a member of the organization or that he took any public part in the proceedings. He was merely a spectator. Indeed, the Board of Regents resolved in accepting the resignation—proffered for the purpose of focussing the issue—that they did not thereby "intend to accuse him of intending disloyalty to his Government." None the less, having acquitted him of guilt, the Regents sentenced him to lose his position on ten days' notice!

Now Mr. Eaton is well known in Oregon, having been for years a member of the Oregon Legislature in addition to his duties as a teacher. It is therefore interesting to note the following comment upon the case by *The Spectator*, of Portland, Oregon:

"No; the Regents could not accuse Mr. Eaton of intending disloyalty to his Government, or to his university, or to his city, or to the humblest decent person or thing on earth. . . . Allen Eaton could no more harbor a disloyal, dishonorable, or dishonest thought than the fixed stars could change their courses in the skies. . . . Practically every member of the splendid faculty of which Mr. Eaton has been an honor and an ornament expressed unwavering faith in his loyalty. There was the real test; and there was the fine, unequivocal, heart-filling answer to the allegation of envy, jealousy, and enmity."

As this quotation indicates, practically the entire faculty petitioned the Board of Regents in Mr. Eaton's favor. But the Regents were not guided by the desires of the University teachers. It was outside pressure which was responsible for the whole wrongful action of those who are charged with preserving university ideals and traditions in the State of Oregon. On September 13, the Eugene Commercial Club preferred seven charges of disloyalty; the Spanish War Veterans and a committee of mothers whose sons were in the army joining in the attack. On every point as stated the charges were proved to be false. President Campbell, of the University, upheld his instructor, but to no avail. The Board of Regents capitulated to the business interests and the war veterans, who did not, of course, withdraw their charges when their falsity was proved. The case is on all fours with a happening in a magistrate's court in New York city, in which a young man accused by two soldiers of having opposed the Conscription law was shown not to have spoken a single word against it; but the magistrate fined him $25 because he had been speaking.

Now, of course, no one must overlook the earnestness of feeling behind the mothers and the Veterans and the Commercial Club; they doubtless believed at first that there was something wrong with Mr. Eaton and they perhaps still believe in their ignorance that the People's Council was a disloyal affair. As a matter of fact, it was nothing of the kind, the plain proof of which is that not a person was arrested by the multitude of plain-clothes men and secret-service agents because of any word uttered at that meeting, nor have its officers—for whom I hold no brief—been molested by the Government in the months that have elapsed since that council, during which they have gone ahead with their organization. They have never, incidentally, advocated a German peace or the ignoring of the outrages to Belgium and France, which outrages they have never in the slightest degree condoned. All of these are facts available for the Board of Regents, the Veterans, and the Commercial Club; yet, accepting sensational newspaper accounts and the wrongful actions of certain State authorities as their guide, they proceeded to influence the Board of Regents into doing a gross injustice to an honest gentleman and a valuable teacher of fine arts.

The most disheartening thing about it all is that this has taken place in a State University, in which it was supposed that democratic rights were safeguarded. Had the happening taken place in one of our privately owned Eastern universities, with their boards of trustees composed of business men, it would have caused no surprise. But Oregon has been a pioneer State in many ways; at least it has always maintained that it was in the forefront of democracy and democratic government, and other States have frequently followed in its footsteps. If in time of passion and excitement our State universities cannot be relied upon to keep cool and to hold the scales of justice even, where may we look for the reign of reason and law? It is well, of course, that this case is going to the Association of University Professors, but what should have happened is an uprising of the faculty and the resignation of every member from President Campbell down who under-

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stood both the wrong done to Mr. Eaton personally, and, what is far more important, the grave injury to the cause of academic freedom.

Until there is such a united action by some faculty, it is doubtful whether any headway can be made against the growing intolerance and the desire of outside influences to control the opinions of teachers. Even the Prussians have permitted Prof. Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster, of the University of Munich, to retain his position and to announce that he will resume his teaching this autumn despite the fact that he is an ardent pacifist, is bitterly opposed to the war, has denounced his Government in a way to gratify every right-thinking anti-German American, and has been ostracized and unitedly opposed by practically all his fellow-members of the faculty of the University. Why should we Americans, bent upon our high-minded campaign to carry democracy to the benighted Germans, be less generous and less keenly alive to the priceless value of academic freedom than our hated enemy?

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Rationalism vs. Sedition

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The would-be rationalists inveigh against interference with freedom of speech and cry out against conscription of thought, but after all do they not beg the very question at issue? They should squarely meet the preliminary question of whether it is really rational to permit at this time the usual untrammelled utterance and unrestricted freedom of propaganda. No doubt this is the ideal towards which we are tending. A time will surely come when speech in the midst of war will be as free as in time of peace, but are we ready for it yet? If not, it is hardly rational to demand that we pluck unripe fruit.

Great masses of men are moved by statements or assertions emanating from an authoritative source. Reason and argument may in the course of time convince the leaders and so indirectly, after a considerable interval, the flocks that look to them for guidance. On the other hand, mere emphatic assertion by those in authority and by those enjoying prestige carries with it conviction and moves the opinion of the crowd. Action is as much more potent than mere assertion to carry conviction and to obtain assent as is authoritative assertion over argumentation.

Let us make an application of these laws of crowd psychology to the present situation. The American people have through their constituted authorities entered upon a war. It has come upon them suddenly and requires an entire reversal of thought among a great proportion of them. The assertion of the President speaking with the authority of his office is the first great instrument to achieve this necessary conversion. The next step is action against sedition, against any who publicly raise their voices in opposition to the war. When the authorities clap such an one into prison the facts of the situation are immediately driven home to every citizen, and he has quickly to decide whether he will support the constituted authorities making war according to constitutional provisions, or whether he will, on the contrary, join the opposition of those who would paralyze really effective action.

There is still another important factor of the situation. The first requisite to conduct war effectively is a vigorous government, and the man in the street becomes confused when he is treated to the spectacle of the open toleration of seditious speech. He is not yet, I fear, educated to that ideal point where he can become all the more enthusiastic for the support of a government so liberal. Magnanimity which is bound to be misunderstood as weakness to the extent that it will bring the evil consequences of actual weakness ceases to be rational.

The suppression of the seditious press does not in fact cut off the freest political discussion. Even to-day Morris Hillquit is allowed to flaunt his refusal to support his government before every eye, but prison awaits him if from a soap box he but advise others to do the same. Unless the majority of the people are ready waiting to follow the constituted authorities in this moment of crisis, any attempt to use force in suppressing sedition will recoil on the Government. That is the test. Even after open sedition is stamped out and full autocratic power delivered over to the authorities for the vigorous conduct of the war, public opinion will yet find many a way clearly to indicate what it is thinking—the failure to support successive loans, riots against conscription, or the election of anti-war candidates.

The task of conducting a great war to a successful issue seems now to require the gift to our President of autocratic power such as the world has never known, that the republic suffer no harm. Such power in the hands of one man is fraught with danger undoubtedly, but any other course is more dangerous still. The safety of the whole transcends in importance the safety of any part. Hence, in as far as it is necessary for the effective conduct of the war all our ordinary constitutional rights and privileges must be suspended. Let rationalists first argue the preliminary question as to the expediency or necessity of this course. But who shall be the final judge in this controversy the professional student of government and philosophy or the administrator, qualified by actual experience in practical affairs? Only the latter can measure the real difficulties of the situation. Each category will have its useful rôle. The professional writer will point out the dangers, but the constituted authorities will shoulder the full responsibility for making the decision of the degree of opposition which it may be expedient to tolerate. And when the theorist recognizes that the course of the Government may be justified by expediency he again begs the question. He confesses that his principles are too imperfect to serve as a practical guide.

Now that our ordinary machinery of government in time of peace has been made to respond to popular will, and now that the severe burdens of war are brought to every home, we must be particularly on our guard against any impulsive reaction from the people which may make it impossible for a democracy to cope with a military autocracy. Before the apostles of sedition are allowed to gather easy support from the multitudes, they must first be emphatically told that to follow sedition means to break with the constituted authorities, who are the representatives of the sacrifices and achievements of countless generations striving for civil liberty. When the people refuse to hearken to this reminder driven home without equivocation, then the day for sedition has arrived and likewise for the victory of Prussia.

ELLERY C. STOWELL

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BOOKS

A Soldier-Doctor

A Soldier-Doctor. By Maria Brace Kimball. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $1.50 net.

AN affectionate tribute to the late Col. James P. Kimball, of the Medical Department of our army, this book is an open-work sketch of his career from 1865 to 1902. Gentle, intelligent, studious, he followed with devotion a special profession within the military pale. The army medical officer usually sees the great rewards of the service fall, not unjustly, to his comrades of the line. He himself is likely neither to attain popular distinction nor to acquire brilliant fame. There are exceptions. Beaumont seized the opportunity of accident, and intelligently and accurately explained for the first time the method and course of gastric digestion, which transferred that branch of human physiology from conjecture to demonstration, with corresponding advantage to practical therapeutics. He indeed received scientific recognition and praise. Examples of medical officers not in American uniform who have materially advanced the knowledge of the conditions for health are Ronald Ross (British), the discoverer of a mosquito as the malaria-bearing host, followed by Sambon (very recently, if not at the moment, of the Italian Army Medical Corps) and his associates from the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, who put Ross's thesis to the test and proved that even the mortal pestilence of the Roman Campagna could be mechanically excluded, and that the screens that restrained the deadly insect, wily female though it be, also conferred upon the susceptible subject immunity from the malarial poison while thus secluded. The benefit has been enormous, the range of praise narrow. Very few who reap the fruit of their intelligence and courage know even the names of the men to whom the white race owes so much, and even fewer think of them as army men. One of the most justly distinguished was the late Walter Reed, of the United States army, conspicuous for this service, but one whose memory and fame are even now fading from popular view. He was a medical officer of intelligence, of learning, and of courage. Reed demonstrated that another than the malaria-bearing mosquito harbored the yellow-fever cause, and, moreover, that the disease spreads in no other way than by means of the appropriate insect injecting the poison. Physical and moral courage marked his use of the human factors. He did not falter, and his successful solution of the problem established an epoch. He determined the cause to be bacillary, to be transferred by vital agency, and to be distinctly preventable. If the host is destroyed, the parasite also perishes and the disease ceases to spread. This has been demonstrated in fact as well as announced in theory, and the intelligent activity displayed by Gorgas over these very lines redeemed Havana and made the pestilential Isthmus habitable and serviceable to man.

The single-minded, country-bred youth of southern New York whose story makes this little book reached his legal majority just as the War of Secession broke out. He refrained from entering the ranks, with whose support all his mind and heart were concerned, but devoted his whole energy to preparation for higher work. Supporting himself in part by teaching, he simultaneously pursued his academic and his professional studies, which culminated in acquiring the degree of M. D. at Albany in December, 1864, and that of A.B. from Hamilton College *in absentia* in 1865. A few months' military service as a regimental medical officer, at first in January of 1865 with the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York Volunteers, and later with the Sixty-fifth from the same State, terminated with his honorable muster-out in the summer. The period was brief, but the events that engaged the Sixth Corps, in which he served, were momentous. Hatcher's Run, the final operations before Petersburg and its capture, and the crisis at Appomattox Court House closed the Virginia campaign. The men who participated, however inconspicuously, in those activities thereby acquired merit whose quality was never tarnished in the eyes that held the restored Union to be the great object of their military career. Kimball must always have felt the life-long gratification that he not only did what he could to preserve the Union, but that fortunately he was present at the very culmination of the armed conflict, happily satisfied that finally all was well. It is a lasting regret that every intelligent witness did not at the very time make an exact record of what he saw in those stirring days. What was actually observed might well have been noted. There would have been errors from insufficient breadth, but the elements of a vivid composite picture should have resulted. When the culmination occurred, the fact of Gen. Lee's surrender was noted, but not the particulars; and with natural enthusiasm for what was before his eye, but perhaps not with absolute fidelity to the whole record, he wrote home: "The Sixth Corps has done most of the fighting." When the Army of Northern Virginia succumbed, enough glory fell upon the victors to warrant no unbecoming rivalry among the columns that were in at the death.

After eighteen months passed as a civilian in travel and in experimental rural practice, Dr. Kimball entered the Medical Corps of the regular army by the notoriously rigid examination which preserves it from unworthy intrusion. Originally selected with extreme care, the standard is maintained by appropriate evidence of character as well as of education for each military step, so that there remains a body specially cultivated over certain lines, whose collective reputation absorbs those of the individual officers. If the deserved fame of Reed and Gorgas can be equalled at all, it will be by men trained in the modes of thought and singleness of purpose that they so conspicuously exhibited. But, however propitious the physical conditions, such men are rare in a generation.

After thirty-five years of constant duty with troops, in the spring of 1902 Col. Kimball passed to the retired list for grave physical disability. His decease followed almost immediately. This tale in simple, occasionally it may be too simple, phrase accounts for a tranquil life in the so-called "forts" of the great interior plains, often interrupted by sudden calls for action. These garrisons were military villages, defensive works only by a figure of speech, where officers and men lived comfortably under exact but not severe discipline, always ready, and frequently called to respond on the instant to authoritative summons for a punitive expedition or for one of rescue. To some degree an isolated, dreary, and, where there are no internal resources, a narrow life; but usually with congenial companions and an under-current of possibilities that prevented stagnation.

A cow grazing on the prairie might bring home a couple

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of arrows, or might not return at all. A herd of public live stock might be stampeded without warning, or months would pass with no incident, and then overnight the command became a mobile column ranging hundreds of miles because of a savage raid upon settlers who fancied themselves secure, owing to military protection. This story of a medical officer serving constantly with the line really illustrates the conditions in which, nominally at peace, the army has conserved peace over a continental range, with certain sad exceptions. For example, after the revolt of the Colorado Utes against their agent, Mr. Meeker, in October, 1879, and the Thornburg disaster that followed, Kimball made with Gen. Merritt, who raised the siege, the three days' forced march with troops hastily concentrated at the nearest accessible point a hundred and sixty-five miles away. Except for a providential storm of great force that inhibited the movement of the troops he was to accompany, he must have ridden to his death with the other medical officers and the command at large that fell with Custer on the Big Horn in 1876.

While the preparation of this sketch has certainly been a labor of love, it is unfortunate that upon the same page (p. 31) Fort Delaware, now re-named Fort Du Pont, should be attributed to both Delaware Bay (correctly) and to Chesapeake Bay (by a flight of the imagination), and also that Castle Williams, which represented history, should be shortened to William (p. 162).

True Sentiment and False

The Innocents. By Sinclair Lewis. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Sentiment. By Vincent O'Sullivan. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

A Reversible Santa Claus. By Meredith Nicholson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Clammer and the Submarine. By William John Hopkins. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Blue Aura. By Elizabeth York Miller. New York: Edward J. Clode.

Martie the Unconquered. By Kathleen Norris. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

THE author of "The Innocents" takes pains to deprecate the performance in the Dedicatory Introduction, as "a flagrant excursion, a tale for people who still read Dickens and clip out spring poetry and love old people and children"; to affirm his "strident admiration" for the younger English realists, Mackenzie, Walpole, Lawrence, Beresford, et al.; and to inscribe the book to them, not forgetting the inevitable tribute to their great original, Mr. Wells. Mr. Lewis appears to have had a genuine qualm lest somebody should think he had fallen from grace and definitely abandoned the glower of the realist for the smile and tear of the sentimentalist. He need not have feared: his little fantasy begins sweetly enough; but we quickly perceive that he is inwardly laughing (not smiling merely) at himself and his puppets; and this rather does for the Dickensian illusion he is after. We may not be sure that in his heart of hearts he thinks his devoted old couple absurd, but it is sadly beyond doubt that he thinks he ought to think them so. Therefore he cooks up for them a course of adventures so far-fetched that the reader will find himself in small danger of abandoning allegiance to Mr. Oliver Onions or Mr. Gilbert Cannan for their sakes. We wonder if the publishers really agree with the notice-writer that the book is "a tender romance of an American Darby and Joan"? Sentimental farce would come nearer the mark. "Sentiment" is the whimsical exploit of another stern chronicler of the actual. An English critic has given Mr. O'Sullivan place "among the first twenty American novelists." It appears that Mr. O'Sullivan was born in America, but his twenty years of English breeding have placed him definitely with a British group of sardonic realists, of which Mr. John Cowper Powys and Mr. Louis Wilkinson are prominent members. Mockery is their forte, mockery of usages, of philosophies, of faiths—particularly, of course, the faith which is called love. In "The Good Girl," Mr. O'Sullivan did present one pure unselfish passion, enshrined, as it were, amid the paltriness and frivolity and selfishness that marked all the other human relations registered in the book. It was, of course, an unhappy passion, a love, from its very purity, destined to be squandered if not altogether wasted in a world where, we gather, sex as a rule means either lust or boredom. In "Sentiment" we are vouchsafed no saving draught of honest feeling. We are to look on, with amused tolerance, at the ridiculous struggles of certain persons to invest their pursuit of selfish gratification with the colors and graces of sentiment. Unluckily the performance has nothing of the warmth and naturalness of comedy, none of these persons can be admired or liked, and for that reason there is small pleasure or profit in laughing at them. We find good fun, here and there, by the way, as in the portrait of the village authoress who "had a story called 'Annie's Overshoes' appearing at that moment in an American periodical; and she was wont to declare that she never read anything but contemporary literature from fear of injuring the large-hearted modern outlook which was recognized in her productions by publishers and critics."

Mr. Nicholson, who has made faithful and creditable attempts at realism, is, as we have said more than once, a natural romancer. However he may see human life and character, he clearly feels them, in his part of story-teller, as a varied playground of whimsy and sentiment. His little story of the moment, "A Reversible Santa Claus," gives free scope to his humorous fancy. It would be preposterous if it did not concern a fairy world, a Christmas world, into which we are led by a guide who unaffectedly "believes in fairies," in powers that work for happiness, and coincidences that are handy, and people that are good. His "reversible Santa Claus, who takes things away from stupid people who don't enjoy them anyhow," is an excellent idea for a world cluttered with discontended selfishness. How the idea is worked out shall not be hinted here, save as involving a good baby, two rich and naughty grandfathers, and the virtuous ex-cracksman who becomes the good angel of all concerned. One does not find quite the same childlike spontaneity in "The Clammer and the Submarine." Its author comes perilously near being a professional purveyor of sentiment. His Adam and Eve of the clam-beds become a trifle cloying; there is something a little too methodically saccharine about their love-making. We have a popular literary convention, just now, to the effect that the spectacle of two long-married persons comporting themselves in public like shameless honeymooners is piquant and pleasing; most of us would turn our heads away in real life. Nor does this writer's enthusiasm for clam-digging and corn-hoeing ring quite true—smack of the soil, whether wet or

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dry. We cannot resist the feeling that he is fonder of sentimentalizing his hoe than of wielding it. His dabs of confidential chat about how he uses wire fencing instead of brush for his peas, and so on, do not convince us that he means business. His whole attitude of vague emotional responsiveness to man and nature, expressed in terms of whimsy, suggests that of the greater sentimentalist who could gloat with equal fervor over a sly caress, a caged starling, or a dead donkey. There is a soberer note here, to be sure, for the clammer has his eye always upon the offing in search of that possible periscope which is the symbol, to his fancy, of the world's peril. In the end he rouses himself from his amiable long-shore loitering and maundering, to enroll himself in the navy. But that act, also, he sentimentalizes.

"The Blue Aura" is a pretty story, of undisguised but unforced sentiment. Why should not pretty stories have their place of honor, if they be naturally conceived and honestly told? Not even the frowning critic can wish to be always upon the high horse; and well he knows, if he is worth his salt, that it is his affair to enjoy excellence in any kind, and not merely in the kind which he holds to be highest. "The Blue Aura" is excellently pretty: a tale of love between two young persons, a tumbler and a dancer, whom naturalism would have had no difficulty in convicting, on sight, of every sort of physical vulgarity and moral turpitude. Their historian finds something fine and gracious in them, and awards them, in due season, the happiness they deserve: for which the reader of simple heart or mood may be unfeignedly grateful. Mrs. Norris's "Martie the Unconquered" is a story of greater pretensions. In its earlier chapters it gives a strikingly vivid and true picture of life in a small American town some twenty years ago. Mrs. Norris sees the detail of it all in memory, and conveys what she sees as if without effort. Martie's home, Martie's family —the whole scene and action of her girlhood, are there before us. But alas, Mrs. Norris has a theme, an idea, a moral to express and drive home; and, as usual with her, it is an idea dominated by sentiment. As a devout Roman Catholic, she has wished to say her say, which would be the Church's say, against divorce. She does not believe in divorce on any grounds, wherefore she marries Martie to an actor who goes to the dogs, but not to the grave; gives her the love of a fine and strong man and lets her return it; and then condemns her, complacently, to the required sacrifice. We are, to be sure, supposed to leave the victim in the way of becoming a distinguished writer, and therefore chirking up considerably. Somehow, as has happened before in Mrs. Norris's work, the story which began so clearly and simply as a record of human experience is gradually enfolded and finally smothered outright in a fog of sheer sentimentalism.

An Important Congress of Historians

The Pacific Ocean in History. Papers and Addresses Presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress held at San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto, California, July 19-23, 1915. H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton, Editors. New York: The Macmillan Co. $4 net.

THE gravest shortcoming of this stout volume of twenty-nine addresses and papers is its very misleading title. The casual reader who depends upon this series of scholarly monographs for his conception of the place of the Pacific in history will picture to himself a strange "South" Sea whose southernmost shores end abruptly with Mindanao on the west and Panama on the east. As a record of an important congress of historians, the volume serves an admirable purpose, though one might question why nearly thirty extra pages are added to its already bulky proportions by the inclusion of the Spanish original as well as the English translation of Professor Altamira's illuminating address on "Spain in the History of the Pacific Ocean."

In addition to fulfilling its expressed intention to preserve a record of this Congress, the book presents very creditably some of the results being achieved by those engaged in developing the resources of the Bancroft Collection at Berkeley. Sixteen of the twenty-nine contributions are by Californians—a fact which explains both the strength and the weakness of the volume. The unfortunate absence of South Americans (save one, whose paper, read *in absentia,* was a brief outline of an article already published elsewhere), of Australians, and of Chinese, though some had been expected to appear, deprived the Congress and its printed record of any claim to represent the "Pacific Ocean in History." The names of Guevarra, De Torres, and De Quiros among navigators of the Pacific, of Dampier, Cochrane, Wooster, and Prat among its fighters, and of Valdivia, Oxley, and Darling among the explorers of its shores, are all associated with recognized achievement and honor entitling them to rank with the Vizcainos, Vancouvers, and Anzas of North Pacific fame. Yet no one of these makers of South Pacific history is mentioned in the volume; nor is any recognition accorded to the picturesque history and present existence of what is to-day the largest Caucasian city on the shores of that ocean. Furthermore, no survey, however cursory, of the conflicts and intrusions of European Powers in the Pacific should omit at least a reference to the nineteenth-century designs of two such Powers upon parts of the South American coast—episodes which are quite unknown to the ordinary North American, but whose stories are promptly recalled by every west coast South American when the supposed inviolability of the Monroe Doctrine is under discussion. No volume which ignores Commodore Perry's epoch-making expedition can justly lay claim to the title of the present work.

Taken singly the average standard of the various papers is distinctly commendable. Professor Stephens's introductory address on "The Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific" serves its purpose admirably as a lucid outline of the interrelations between the politics of the Old World and the explorations and rivalries in the western ocean. Professor Altamira's address deals vigorously with several contentious questions regarding the part played by Spain in the history of the Pacific: the contributions of his countrymen to navigation, the justice of the Indian policy of the Castilian monarchs, and the activities of Spanish engineers in preparing the way for trans-isthmian communication. On each of these highly important phases of Spanish colonial history, casual opinion has, on the whole, been against that country, and Professor Altamira renders a much needed service by indicating the indebtedness of the world to the *conquistadores,* not only with regard to each of the factors mentioned, but also in connection with such less picturesque but none the less valuable contributions as the discoverers of the potato, the tomato, rubber, chocolate, and Indian corn. Other products might well have been added to the list, notably cocaine and quinine.

The other three addresses delivered at the general sessions

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of the Congress scarcely require comment. Those by J. F. Davis and R. J. Taussig, on "The History of California" and "An Historical Sketch of the Canal Idea," respectively, were intended simply to present résumés of well-known facts. Mr. Davis makes some statements which will startle historically minded readers on the remote Atlantic seaboard, as, for instance, the observation that the Atlantic commonwealths had but a "comparatively short" colonial history, which "was only in slight degree, if at all, dependent upon the events of European history." The last of the general addresses, that by Col. Roosevelt on "The Panama Canal," is the familiar recital of his case against Colombia.

The twenty-four papers read at the special sessions of the Congress fall into six groups, devoted to various areas of the North Pacific littorals. Of the six papers on the Philippines, the most interesting and in many respects the most mature is that by Prof. D. P. Barrows on "The Governor-General of the Philippines under Spain and the United States." It is undoubtedly one of the best brief historical surveys, not only of the office in question, but of the general government of the Islands. J. A. Robertson has contributed a characteristically thorough study of a pre-Hispanic Bisayan code, probably dating back to the early fifteenth century.

Prof. F. A. Golder's discussion of the Russian attitude towards Alaska, which stands out in the group of four papers on the northwest coast, is a timely examination of the foundations of Russian colonial policy and indicates clearly the political and economic burdens which made inexpedient the retention of Alaska.

The next three groups of papers, designated respectively as "Spanish-America and the Pacific Ocean," "California," and "New Mexico and Arizona," really form an excellent series, save for one or two titles, on the history of Mexico or New Spain before 1826; and their uniformly high quality gives ample evidence, not only of the strength of the Bancroft Library, but also of the diligent and able direction of those in charge. Some of the papers have since appeared elsewhere, while others seem out of place in a volume on "The Pacific Ocean in History." Among the latter are those on speech mixture in New Mexico and on the genealogy of Oñate, an explorer of southwestern Texas, whose family tree is made the victim of several inadequate and inaccurate allusions to Spanish history.

A six-page summary of a previously published article by Sr. Larrabure on "The Monarchical Plans of San Martín" was the only recognition at the Congress of South America's five thousand miles of Pacific seaboard, and its discussion of the great Argentino's ambitions would have been more comprehensible with a few editorial notes referring to Basil Hall's famous interviews with San Martín on that subject. Professor Bolton's essay on the explorations of Father Garcés across the Colorado Desert in 1770 and after is another of those marvellous tales of early southwestern heroism for which we are already deeply indebted to this California scholar. This study of the courageous Franciscan and another contribution by the same author, later in the volume, on "French Intrusions in New Mexico, 1749-1752," lead one to hope that Professor Bolton's many detailed monographs in this field might soon be drawn together into a general work along larger lines.

None of the papers in the volume is more timely and readable than that on the San Francisco "home guard" of 1861 by one of its members, Horace Davis. This brief but vivid record of the brilliant and successful efforts of Starr King and his friends to save California for the Union was one of the memorable papers of the Congress, contributed by one who lived history as well as recorded it. For sound maturity and clear-cut scholarship, Professor Murakami's study of Japan's early commercial relations with Mexico easily surpasses most of the other papers in the volume. His story of the efforts of Iyeyasu, the great seventeenth-century statesman, to found a trans-Pacific trade will present to western readers a phase of Mexican history of which probably few are aware.

The Spirit of the Allies

Towards the Goal. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. With a Preface by Theodore Roosevelt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25 net.

MRS. WARD'S book, in form a series of letters to Mr. Roosevelt, continues the survey of war conditions in England and on the western front which was begun in *England's Effort*. The period covered is later, however, the letters, dated from March to June of the present year, dealing for the most part with events as the author was privileged to see them during those months.

Substantively, Mrs. Ward's volume offers a good many details of military and naval preparation, equipment, and achievement, for some of which she is indebted to the War Office, which placed at her disposal various papers hitherto withheld from the public. This material, however, although useful for a contemporary study of the war, will appeal much less to the ordinary reader than will the impressions which Mrs. Ward conveys of the spirit of the Allies, the temper of the France that has suffered so deeply, or the confidence which she seems to have found everywhere in the final outcome. For Mrs. Ward writes no narrative of gloom. Dark pictures there are, to be sure, as when she tells of the sack of Senlis or Gerbéviller, or of the experiences of the wretched villages over which the horrors of war have swept. To one who has seen these things face to face, the memory of them can never be blotted out. What she dwells upon the most, however, are the steady successes of the Allies as they push the Germans back mile by mile; the modest hopes and claims of the men who direct the British and French forces; the friendly relations between officers and men; the buoyant spirits of the common soldiers under trying conditions of weather or exertion; the quiet heroism of mayors and prefects, and the bubbling humor of a Sister Julie; the inspiring labors of the Friends in the devastated towns or uprooted countryside; the contented-looking German prisoners working on the roads; the attention and frankness of the officers appointed to accompany her; and the quiet beauty, not wholly torn away, of the France which she knows so well, seen in the cold of spring through the mist and the snow. It is these bits of description, incident, or personal characterization, skilfully woven into the narrative of a rapid journey, that bring out better than formal discussion could do the fundamental human quality of the men who are the hope of the Allied cause, and between whom and their German opponents the contrast is like that between darkness and light.

The material participation of America in the war was too little advanced at the time of writing to figure much in Mrs. Ward's pages; but the declaration of war had come

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while the series of letters was still young, and there are frequent allusions to the great part which, it is believed, the United States will play later on, and to the heartening of the Allies which American coöperation has increasingly brought. For Russia, too, there is ultimate hope, even though, as the letters close, the horizon shows little save the darkness of anarchy. With Germany, on the other hand, there is no mincing. From one who knows the German mind as Mrs. Ward has known it, the stinging condemnation of its materialism, its ruthless ambition, and its deliberate inhumanity in war, which she more than once voices, comes with exceptional force; and her repeated insistence that nothing less than "restitution, reparation, and guarantees" will insure a lasting peace is clearly no literary repetition of a political formula, but a conviction from which her personal observations offer her no escape.

Whether, now that the Germans have taken Riga and invaded Italy with a mighty rush, while France drifts towards another ministerial crisis and Mr. Lloyd George's Government sails again among shoals and reefs, Mrs. Ward would scan the future with the same hopefulness with which she has here surveyed the recent past, is a question which more than one reader of these agreeable pages is likely to ask himself. It is at least a happy coincidence that so optimistic a book should appear just as grave events are challenging democratic faith. One cannot but regret that a volume so full of encouragement for a just cause cannot be as widely read in Germany as it is pretty certain to be in England, France, and the United States.

Notes

FORTHCOMING publications of G. P. Putnam's Sons include the following: "A Textbook of Precious Stones," by Frank B. Wade; "Benjamin Franklin Self-Revealed," by W. Cabell Bruce; "Reconstruction in Louisiana," by Ella Lonn; "Catholicity: A Treatise on the Unity of Religions," by the Rev. R. Heber Newton, D.D.; "A Manual of Qualitative Chemical Analysis," by Joshua R. Morton; "The Theory and History of Banking," by Charles F. Dunbar, revised and enlarged by Oliver M. Sprague; "Democracy and the War," by John F. Coar; "Field Book of Insects," by Frank E. Lutz.

Putnams, acting as the American representatives of the Cambridge University Press, announce the publication of the following volumes: "Instinct in Man: A Contribution to the Psychology of Education," by James Drever; "British Grasses and Their Employment in Agriculture," by S. F. Armstrong.

IT is a pleasure to note the steady progress of Earnest Cary's edition and translation of Dio's "Roman History" in the Loeb Library (Putnam's Sons). The fifth volume, which now appears, contains books xlvi to l, with their account of the stirring events of the years 43-31 B. C. Mr. Cary's rendering is accurate and scholarly. If any fault is to be found with so laborious an undertaking, one might suggest that, in his effort to reproduce the full force of the Greek, he sometimes allows his English to drag. For an illustration of this venial fault we open the present volume at random, and light upon this sentence on page 189: "After accomplishing these results Brutus and Cassius came again into Asia; and all the suspicions which they were harboring against each other as the result of calumnious talk, such as is wont to arise in similar conditions, they brought forward and discussed with each other in privacy, and after becoming reconciled again they hastened into Macedonia." Certainly there are more words here than are necessary. For instance, the Greek here rendered "they brought forward and discussed with each other in privacy"—could not its full force be conveyed more simply thus: "they discussed together in private"? We trust we are not carping, but we think that with a little more vigor and condensation Mr. Cary might make a good piece of work better. There are four volumes yet to do.

AS a result of the Conference on Classical Studies in Liberal Education held at Princeton last June the Princeton University Press has now published the addresses of Senator Lodge and the other eminent speakers in a volume appropriately called "The Value of the Classics" ($1.50 net). Besides these formal addresses the book contains letters and statements from some three hundred other men, beginning with the President of the United States and the two living ex-Presidents, and including the names of the most distinguished college presidents, head-masters, scholars, engineers, physicians, bankers, lawyers, preachers, editors —all of whom speak, with varying emphasis, but for the most part with very strong emphasis, of the indispensable value of Greek and Latin in education. The testimony, when one considers the standing of the witnesses and the variety of their occupations, is overwhelming. It confirms an opinion which this reviewer formed from observation of a good many colleges and has long held, that a general vote of the men of superior achievements in college faculties and in the world would be strongly in favor of the classics. Nor are the causes obscure which are diminishing the hold of the classics, despite this body of intelligent opinion. Latin and Greek are not easy, and their value is not clear to the raw student; he rebels against them and has his way. These students are under no restraint from home, for the most part indeed come from uneducated or half educated homes, and by their numbers they dominate the situation. Boards of trustees and college presidents are notoriously timid before numbers; their standards are notoriously quantitative rather than quotitative; and so there is no effective force to offset this impulse to education given by the ignorance of inexperience. There are, of course, other causes at work, but certainly not the least important is the fact that our educational system is controlled by the less intelligent mass of the student body. In addition to the body of testimony the book gives actual and verified statistics which prove abundantly, either that the more intelligent students still think the classics the best preparation for any walk in life, or that the study of the classics is in itself the best assurance of success in every direction. Rather, the evidence is that both these inferences are true.

INDUCED by a spirit of piety Mr. A. C. Benson has published the "Life and Letters of Maggie Benson" (Longmans, Green). Miss Benson, sister of the author, daughter of the Archbishop, was, we may believe, a girl and woman of unusual talent and beautiful character; at Lambeth and Addington she saw much of the great world, and her interests in philosophy and archæology were wide. A brief record of her life, with a few of her more thoughtful letters,

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would have been something better than a work of piety; but Mr. Benson has thrown together a mass of notes and hurried communications which can have very slight interest for any except friends of the family. It is a fault too common with biographers. Mr. Benson's own additions in the way of narrative and characterization are pleasantly written.

MARCEL PREVOST, in his "Benoit Castain" (Macmillan; $1 net), has proved himself capable of a new departure. Studies of conscience and soul-states have not hitherto been prominent in his work. If occasionally, as in "L'Automne d'une femme," he has shown psychological insight, he has more frequently, as in "Les Demi-vierges," been occupied with complacently depicting the aberrations, sexual and other, of a shoddy society. He has ranked as a Robert W. Chambers of the boulevards, and the resemblance is only increased by the ease with which either writer scatters rose-color or assumes a virtuous indignation against the conditions on which his talent battens. But "Benoit Castain" is clean, strong, sincere. It deals with the double moral problem of a subordinate officer who finds out that his sweetheart's father is a German spy and who, at the same time, is carried too far by his passion for the girl. The tale is slight and loses in unity by the use of two jumbled methods of narration; it is none the less moving and direct. The characters are convincing, and the hero, particularly, is a very engaging type of the French soldier. The translation, by A. C. Richmond, is on the whole well done. It appears that the war can withdraw such writers as Prévost from the primrose path and set them to the earnest consideration of vital problems of conduct.

DR. GEORGE W. CRILE'S "Man: An Adaptive Mechanism" (Macmillan; $2.50 net) is unique in treating of the shadows and not the high lights of man's evolution. Its thesis is a review of the chemical and physical eddies and back waters which trouble the swift flowing stream of man's life from conception to death. It is a popularized presentation of the reactions and adaptations of the human body in conflict with disease, and as such should be very interesting to the student evolutionist. The text is not as readable as it might be, and the author has occasionally forgotten his untechnical audience in his tendency to use scientific terms. But the illustrations are striking, if not indeed, spectacular, and might easily arouse an interest which would not be sustained by the text. We are quite willing to grant the author his constantly reiterated demand that we recognize man as a mechanism, but, after all, little has been gained. The gap between a man-made machine and a vital, living organism is no less. We have substituted a new term, using the same for both, and it is a serious question whether by so doing we have not rather confused the final issues than clarified them. A key to the volume is to be had in a single paragraph:

> Had Darwin and Herbert Spencer applied the principle of natural selection to physiology as completely as the former applied it to anatomy and to gross behavior, they would undoubtedly have left to us an important compilation of data, thus establishing the basis for a constructive theory of medicine, such as medicine has never possessed. . . . The present volume is the outcome of an effort to harmonize a large amount of clinical and experimental data by the application of certain biologic principles. . . . One result of this research has been the accumulation of evidence tending to show that in the distribution of contact ceptors, of chemical ceptors, of the mechanisms for overcoming pyogenic infections and for blood clotting; in the distribution of pain areas and of special reflexes we have a phylogenetic summary of the evolution of man.

The first parts deal with the adaptation of man to his environment through the nervous system by means of contact, chemical, and distant ceptors, the last division including the emotions and mental states. Then follow chapters on the diseases of the kinetic system, and a discussion of the author's earlier discoveries in anociation, his greatest professional contribution to science. He then treats of a mechanistic interpretation of the action of certain drugs, action patterns, pain, laughter, and weeping, the transformation of energy and of electro-chemical phenomena. There are few new conceptions and a certain number of elaborations of theories which are by no means accepted by the majority of physicians. Some of the chapters are better arranged and more logical than others, but throughout we find that the survival of the fit is ignored; its place being taken by emphasis on the failure of the unfit. Dr. Crile argues evolution from the pathological point of view; a rather novel and valuable focus, but one which would hardly appeal to the uninitiated layman.

"THE Ruhleben Prison Camp," by Israel Cohen (Dodd, Mead; $2.50 net), seems to have been written with the twofold purpose of reassuring the friends and relatives of the British civilians of military age who are interned there and at the same time of stirring up public sentiment in England to obtain the release as early as possible of the remaining captives. If there is an apparent contradiction there, it is easily resolvable. The author's sprightly account of his nineteen months of imprisonment makes it amply clear that while outward conditions at Ruhleben are on the whole excellent and there is even something approaching a normal community life with social and intellectual interests, there is on the other hand a steadily cumulative effect of physical, mental, and moral suffering, which no one but an inmate can appreciate. It is owing to Mr. Cohen's faculty of conveying these impressions vividly as well as to his graphic descriptions of external conditions that his book has such great human interest. The author has evidently an unusually good knowledge of German conditions and of the German language. Incidentally, he ought to have known better

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than to ascribe the opera "Die Fledermaus" to Meyerbeer (page 99). There are 26 good illustrations and a plan of the grounds.

IN Frank B. Sanborn's new "Life of Henry David Thoreau" (Houghton Mifflin; $4 net) the most important additions to our knowledge of Thoreau are the "themes" written by him at Harvard, details regarding his ancestry, and the illustrations revealing, for the first time to most readers, the faces of Thoreau's father, grandfather, sister, etc. Nearly one hundred and fifty pages are given to the "College Essays," many of which show that Thoreau, as a youth, was a hard-headed moralist as well as a writer with a command of expression.

THE eight essays which make up Kenyon Cox's new book, "Concerning Painting" (Scribner; illustrated; $1.75 net), are of unequal interest. Mr. Cox has done nothing better than the two studies "Painting as an Art of Imitation" and "Painting as an Art of Relation." All his qualities of clarity, vigor, and probity come out, and he traces in what may well be definitive fashion the relation of imitation to style. Without a basis in imitation he holds that the resources of painting are inadequate. Without deigning to deal with the recent advocates of "pure painting," he makes perhaps the most damaging refutation of their eccentric theories that has yet been penned. In three essays on the Golden Age of Painting Mr. Cox writes with the enthusiasm of inner knowledge, but the defects of the printed lecture begin to be apparent. In any full treatment of Tintoretto, for example, we can hardly imagine Mr. Cox treating a great painter as a mere vulgarian, or failing to admit generously Tintoretto's inexhaustible inventiveness. To say that we could well spare pretty much everything that Titian painted after 1540 is easier to say on the lecture platform than to maintain among the judicious. The three essays on nineteenth-century painting are as a group pretty scrappy, and the comparison with Mr. Cox's fuller treatment of the same artists in his earlier books is unfavorable. Yet such masterly summaries as he devotes to Prudhon and Puvis are Cox quite at his best. There is a cleanness and trenchancy about this work which is beyond the range of any other American critic of art. Where Mr. Cox's admiration is fully aroused there is also a great sensitiveness. This quality Mr. Cox keeps for his favorites. The rest get a rather schoolmasterly report.

THE history of the study of Anglo-Saxon, or Old English, as it is variously called, in England down to the end of the eighteenth century is already well known to students of our early language and literature—especially through the survey of the subject which is contained in Richard Wülker's "Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Litteratur." That part of Wülker's treatise, like the whole work, offers a laborious collection of materials which will always have its value. There was room, nevertheless, for a well-digested and readable compilation of all the essential information that is available in regard to the English development of this branch of study, and such a work Miss Eleanor N. Adams has given us in her "Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800" (Yale Studies in English, LV; Yale University Press)—that is to say, from the publication of "A Testimonie of Antiquitie" (the first Anglo-Saxon printed book) down to the appearance of Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons" and the foundation of the Rawlinsonian professorship of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford. As a matter of fact, the impulse to a really scientific study of Anglo-Saxon in England came not from these events, but from the labors of Continental scholars, like Rask and the Grimms. The author has added four useful appendices to her work: (1) Extracts from the correspondence of scholars of the period covered, relating to the subject of the present study; (2) extracts from the prefaces of certain works of L'Isle and Miss Elstob, who in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, respectively, were prominently identified with the study of Anglo-Saxon; (3) a brief account of the use of Anglo-Saxon types, with specimen pages of printing from these types; (4) a summary of the contributions of learned societies and libraries in London to old English scholarship before 1800. Miss Adams opens her treatise with a very questionable statement to the effect that the revival of classical learning in the Renaissance "did much towards extinguishing national literature," but this is mild by comparison with her later observation that "the peculiar grace and nervous vigor of eighteenth-century prose" is largely due to the rediscovery of Old English! One can understand how an enthusiastic *doctoranda*, tasting the first sweets of research, should have perpetrated such an absurdity, but do the professors of English at Yale to whom the thesis was submitted approve of this strange doctrine?

Musical Biographies and Essays

A Second Book of Operas. By Henry Edward Krehbiel. New York: The Macmillan Co. $2.

Handel. By Romain Rolland. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $1.50 net.

Beethoven. By Romain Rolland. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $1.50 net.

Music and Life. By Thomas Whitney Surette. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $1.25 net.

Suum Cuique. By O. G. Sonneck. New York: G. Schirmer.

FEW opera-goers have had the varied experience of the New York *Tribune's* musical critic. For almost four decades he has been a regular attendant at nearly every important operatic performance given in New York; and a critic is supposed to listen more intently and to take in more than other mortals do, even though his enjoyment may be dulled by over-indulgence in the feasts of sound. Too often, in his daily column, Mr. Krehbiel lives up to the definition of a critic as "a man who writes about things he doesn't like"; but in his books he is usually more amiable. He is so in his latest volume, which deals good-naturedly as well as lucidly and entertainingly with operas as widely apart in style and merit as "Samson et Dalila," "The Queen of Sheba," "Hérodiade," "Lakmé," "I Pagliacci," "Cavalleria Rusticana," "Iris," "Madama Butterfly," "Der Rosenkavalier," "Boris Godounoff," and several works by Giordano and Wolf-Ferrari. Instead of offering the mere dry "argument" (as the managers call it) of an opera, Mr. Krehbiel discusses it in literary fashion, with a liberal infusion of biographic and historic information. The chapter on Saint-Saëns's "Samson et Dalila," of which the author justly says that it "is probably possessed of more vigorous life now than it ever had," is preceded by three chapters dealing with Biblical operas and Bible stories in opera and oratorio, including

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Rubinstein's sacred operas or operatic oratorios, and culminating in Wagner's "Parsifal." The mine is still far from exhausted; in the same writer's opinion there is in the Bible "a vast amount of admirable material . . . which would not necessarily be degraded by dramatic treatment." One of the most refreshing things in this book is the enthusiasm for Humperdinck's "Koenigskinder." Of particular interest also are the pages on Puccini's "Madama Butterfly," in which the Japanese factors that enter into the texture of the score are made evident, with quotation, also, of the Oriental themes used by William Furst in the incidental music of Belasco's play which furnished the suggestion for this deservedly popular opera.

In speaking of operas nobody in our day thinks of Handel, yet that composer was above all things a writer of operas and a manager. For two decades he used his genius "in the paradoxical task of thrusting on London a shaky and shallow Italian opera, which could not live under a sun and in a climate unsuitable to it," as we read in Romain Rolland's little volume on this composer, of which Dr. Eaglefield Hull has made an admirable translation. He composed no fewer than fifty operas, a full list of which is given at the end of this book. It would not be possible to make them palatable to the public to-day, because they are too old-fashioned in style and subject matter; yet there is much of Handel's genius in them—many splendid airs, of which Robert Franz issued special collections—a fact which M. Rolland forgot to call attention to. The world has come to look on Handel as primarily a writer of sacred music, but this is all wrong. He "was never a church musician, and he hardly ever wrote for the church." Even his oratorios were intended for the theatre, and only the English prejudice against staging Biblical stories made him produce them in church or the concert hall. He was really a pagan. Of his realistic tendencies this author gives interesting illustrations; he even noted down in his manuscripts the street cries of London. M. Rolland's book, besides being an entertaining biography and a criticism, is an eloquent plea for the restitution of the real Handel—an attempt to rescue his works from the "monumental tiresomeness" of their performances in accordance with false traditions.

Of considerably less value and interest is M. Rolland's book on Beethoven—a mere sketch, with some poetic licenses in the matter of biographic details. Mr. Hull, however, has supplemented this sketch in a fashion to make this volume well worth owning. The author's sketch is followed by a copy of Beethoven's famous will and samples of his letters and "thoughts," while seventy pages are taken up by brief, pithy analyses of his thirty-two sonatas for piano, his symphonies, and his chamber music. There is also a bibliography and a complete list of his works.

There is a good deal about Beethoven and the other classics in Mr. Surette's book on "Music and Life." He fails dismally in his attempt to prove that the German classical symphony is a coherent work of art instead of a mere suite of four incoherent pieces. There is a sensible chapter on opera, but by far the most valuable pages in this volume are concerned with Music for Children, Public-School Music, and Community Singing. On these things Mr. Surette speaks as an expert and an authority; for two years he served on an unpaid advisory committee appointed by the School Committee of the city of Boston to improve the teaching of music in the public schools. According to the revelations here made there is plenty of room for improvement, and the schoolmen throughout the country could do nothing more sensible than study and follow Mr. Surette's admonitions. He is particularly severe on the American pedagogical attitude towards sight-singing.

"Suum Cuique" is not a particularly alluring title for a book of essays on music, but O. G. Sonneck, who so long and most ably took care of the music division of the Congressional Library in Washington, knows how to hold the attention of all who open this volume. In the first of these essays, which appeared originally in a Berlin periodical a decade ago, he emphatically insists that Germany has "no claims whatever to a monopoly of talent at the present day"; and he scores the German tendency to value foreign music in proportion to its Germanic content. There are interesting chapters on the musical side of Benjamin Franklin and our first Presidents, together with an elaborate and illuminating survey of music in America from many points of view, and another one on the new spirit in Italy's musical life; which are preceded by Was Richard Wagner a Jew? But the most valuable of these disquisitions is entitled MacDowell Versus MacDowell; in it Mr. Sonneck relates amusingly what difficulties he encountered in his search for first editions of the works of America's foremost composer, incidentally giving fascinating glimpses of MacDowell's genius at work. In this essay he remarks that we have no composer whom we can genuinely and consistently call American in point of style; but in his Survey of Music in America (p. 138) he shows that he has reconsidered this matter and emphasizes "the subtle yet unmistakable atmosphere of the New World" in the compositions of MacDowell.

HENRY T. FINCK

The Drama of Ireland

The Contemporary Drama of Ireland. By Ernest A. Boyd. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. $1.25 net.

THIS book, edited by Richard Burton, is an excellent contribution to the Contemporary Drama Series, all the more useful for a capital Index and Biographical Appendix. In his account of the parts played by Edward Martyn, W. B. Yeats, and George Moore in the establishment of the Irish Literary Theatre, Mr. Boyd is evidently anxious to prove that though this was the starting point of the Irish National Theatre, the latter is untainted by the influence of the Eng-

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lish Independent Theatre which supplied the motive of the earlier enterprise. It is interesting to note that he is disinclined to accept the suggestion that the Ibsenian influence was dominant in either of them. His attitude is consistently Irish and, in the circumstances, perfectly justifiable. He is undoubtedly right in declaring that Irish plays ought to be interpreted by Irish players, on elocutionary as well as other grounds. In the work of the brothers Fay he finds good illustration for his argument, while Yeats's remarks on the importance of speech culture are applicable to the theatres of every nationality.

In his review of Yeats's works Mr. Boyd is eulogist and apologist rather than critic, but he writes with a keen appreciation of his indisputable poetic gifts. He occupies himself largely with the somewhat difficult task of refuting the charge that the dramatist, in his constant revisions, vainly sacrificed inspiration for the sake of a theatrical effect, which he never fully attained. In this, for obvious reasons, he is not altogether successful, but he has written a clever and interesting paper. He admits frankly, as inevitably, that J. M. Synge was the dominant force in the evolution of the Irish National Theatre. In him dramatic intuition reinforced poetic imagination and utterance and a true sense of realism. "The Riders to the Sea" is a masterpiece. Mr. Boyd is a fervent admirer of "The Playboy of the Western World," and vehemently denounces the critics who presumed to find fault with it. But he ignores, or fails to see, the chief point made by disinterested objectors. This had nothing whatever to do with morality or religion. It was simply that the proposition that a self-confessed parricide would, because of his alleged deed, be accepted as a popular hero was a libel upon Irish character. And this remains true. One precious lesson to be learned from Synge's writing is the magic of the simple word.

Padraic Colum enriched the true Irish peasant drama with his "The Land" and "The Fiddlers' House," both realistic and effective studies, if less vital now than they were before the effects of comparatively recent legislation began to be felt. Their disappearance from the stage is due chiefly to the change of policy in the Abbey Theatre, which favored the more conventional farce and comedy of Lady Gregory, William Boyle, and others. In a kindly but just and searching criticism of Lady Gregory's plays, Mr. Boyd, while fully recognizing the value of her zeal and ability to the cause which she has championed, rightly concludes that the majority of them are not important contributions to literary drama or in harmony with the aims of a national theatre. A similar judgment applies with equal accuracy to the popular but undistinguished pieces of Boyle. The discouraging fact is that the record of Mr. Boyd indicates clearly that the Abbey Theatre, in recent years, except in occasional plays by George Fitzmaurice, Seumas O'Kelly, and one or two others, has been falling lower and lower below the literary and artistic standard originally set for it. That Lord Dunsany is Irish, and that his imagination is Celtic, is true, but the effort to identify him with the aims and purposes of an Irish National Theatre is somewhat fanciful.

Genuine folk plays have been written for the Ulster Theatre—of which not much has been heard in this country—by Joseph Campbell and Rutherford Mayne. St. John G. Ervine—with due deference to Mr. Boyd—has done better work than either of them, although it is but lately that he has been identified with the Irish National Movement. His "Mixed Marriage," dealing with the delicate subject of religious bigotry, "Jane Clegg," and "John Ferguson" are all works showing rare command of characterization and dramatic force. These qualities are not affected by his foolish attack upon his critics. Mr. Boyd does not treat him quite fairly, but is right when he charges him with a tendency to melodrama. And it is also obvious that his policy as new manager of the Abbey Theatre, of establishing a general repertory, is a distinct menace to its distinctive character. That, however, was threatened long before he assumed the office of director. Nor must it be forgotten that most of the actors who helped to make the Abbey Theatre famous, by their faithful portrayal of peasant character, have left it to better their fortunes elsewhere. This is the fatal rock upon which isolated stock companies are most likely to founder. They develop good actors to be absorbed and lost in the purely commercial theatres, where their progress is promptly arrested.

J. RANKEN TOWSE

Finance

Russia, Italy, and the Markets

EVENTS of the past fortnight, both in and out of Wall Street, have strongly indicated that financial markets were again beginning to be governed by military and political developments in the war. The violent break on the Stock Exchange had other causes of a purely domestic nature, but there is now little doubt that the force of liquidation was greatly accentuated by the news of the first Italian defeat. Last week's decline, in which prices of many active shares fell 3 to 6 points, came, at least partly, in response to the dislodgment of Cadorna from his new position and the crossing of the Tagliamento River by the Austro-German armies. Recovering on Wednesday, after the election holiday, and opening with a further advance the next morning, prices broke 2 to 8 points on Thursday, when the sudden cable news arrived of the seizure of Petrograd and the Government by the Russian Bolsheviki.

On the New York Stock Exchange, the effect of this successive news was largely produced by the inferences drawn as to the probable prolongation of the war as a result of the Italian and Russian developments. But there were other

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financial markets which reflected the inferences drawn as to the effect on Italy and Russia themselves. Before the Germans attacked the Italian line in the last week of October, New York exchange on Rome had been selling at 7¾ Italian lire to the dollar, par being slightly over 5 lire. In the next few days, the rate moved up to a trifle over 8 lire, and the news of last week sent it violently to 8⅝.

Until last Thursday, New York exchange on Petrograd had been ruling around 13½ cents to the ruble. This represented a very great depreciation, but it was still well above the 11¼-cent rate reached during the Kornilov revolt of September. Thursday's news, however, sent the nominal rate violently down to 12 cents, and the next day it touched 11½, a depreciation of nearly 80 per cent. from the ruble's parity of 51¼ cents.

Two weeks ago the Russian internal 5½ per cent. bonds, some of which our market foolishly bought around $325 per 1,000-ruble bond some fourteen months ago, were offered at 135, and they were quoted at 121 on Wednesday of last week. They fell by Saturday to 102. The Russian Government's gold 5½ per cents of last year's American issue declined on the same days 13 points, selling 49½ points below last January's price. At the price of 45, reached in last week's market, those bonds would yield a return not far from 42 per cent. per annum to the investor if interest and principal were to be paid; for they are redeemable at par, four years from this present month. Evidently, the various financial markets were endeavoring to measure the probabilities in two directions—in the effect of Italy's defeat and Russia's new revolution on the fortunes of the war, and in their effect on the fortunes of the two countries, taken by themselves.

It still remains for the markets to reflect the further changes in these extraordinary pictures of the war panorama. The fate of Northern Italy still hangs in the military balance, and so does the question of control in Russia. Early this week, the stock market steadied itself, and the Russian bonds recovered 10 points or more from their low level. It will doubtless be said that the seizure of Government by the Russian I. W. W. had in a way been "discounted" in the previous decline, and that the immediate reflection of that news belonged to the market for Russian exchange and Russian bonds. Yet it is also possible to infer that financial judgment is not wholly pessimistic over that situation.

It is true enough that historical precedent of an unpleasant sort exists. A club recruited from the slums of Paris did control Government in France during a series of years after the great French Revolution, and only lost it when the shyster lawyers and gutter journalists who were running the Government sent one another to the guillotine. France had been reading Rousseau as Russia has been reading Tolstoy. But the Terror had at least the argument of invasion by nearly all other powerful foreign armies to put down the Revolution, of Royalist insurrection, and of spies in Paris to upset the revolutionary tribunal. The Russian terrorists are talking of peace, not war, with an enemy on Russian soil, and the chief mouthpiece of the Bolshevik Government is himself a more than suspected German spy. Not one of these dictators of the moment has been chosen by the Russian people in an election; they are as patently usurpers as if Haywood and Johann Most had seized the Capitol at Washington.

It may be that the Stock Exchange is voicing its own incredulity over the possibility that such a régime, with its series of self-contradictory proposals, can survive a counter-move by the forces of public order. As to this, we shall soon learn the truth; events do not move slowly nowadays.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

FICTION

Delafield, E. M. Zella Sees Herself. Knopf. $1.50 net.
Gregory, J. Wolf Breed. Dodd, Mead. $1.40 net.
Jesse, F. T. Secret Bread. Doran. $1.50 net.
Lait, J. Gus the Bus and Evelyn the Exquisite Checker. Doubleday, Page. $1.35 net.
Marshall, A. Abington Abbey. Dodd, Mead. $1.50 net.
Ruck, B. Miss Million's Maid. Dodd, Mead. $1.40 net.
Showerman, G. A Country Child. Century. $1.75 net.

MISCELLANEOUS

Anderson, I. Old Corners. Dodd, Mead. $1.50 net.
Bechhofer, C. E. A Russian Anthology in English. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Bryce, Viscount. The Next Thirty Years. Oxford University Press.
Dawson, C. The Seventh Christmas. Holt. 50 cents net.
Fairgrieve, J. Geography and World Power. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Grayson, D. Great Possessions. Doubleday, Page. $1.30.
Hill, D. J. The Rebuilding of Europe. Century. $1.50 net.
International Conversation Book. John C. Winston Co.
Jackson, T. G. A Holiday in Umbria. Holt. $3 net.
Johnson, B. The Well of English and the Bucket. Little, Brown. $1.25 net.
Lutz, H. F. Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa. Yale University Press. $5 net.
Martin, E. S. The Diary of a Nation. Doubleday, Page. $1.50 net.
Mencken, H. L. A Book of Prefaces. Knopf. $1.50 net.
Morris, W. The Life and Death of Jason. Dodd, Mead. $3.50 net.
Needham, J. L. The Solution of Tactical Problems. Dutton. $2 net.
Norris, M. The Story of Princeton. Little, Brown. $2 net.
Randall, E. C. The Dead Have Never Died. Knopf. $1.50 net.
Reade, A. Finland and the Finns. Dodd, Mead. $2 net.
Russell, I. Christmas Night in the Quarters. Century. $2.50 net.
Shelton, A. C. On the Road from Mons. Dutton. $1.25 net.
Sturgis, Mrs. R. C. Random Reflections of a Grandmother. $1 net.
Sturtevant, E. H. Linguistic Change. University of Chicago Press. $1 net.
The New Era in Canada. By Various Writers. Dutton. $1.75.
Value of the Classics. Edited by A. F. West. Princeton University Press. $1.50 net.
Van Vechten, C. Interpreters. Knopf. $1.50 net.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Jenkinson, W. London Churches Before the Great Fire. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
Miller, R. O. Modernist Studies in the Life of Jesus. Sherman, French. 80 cents.
The Protestant Reformation and Its Influence. Philadelphia, Pa.: Advertising Department, Presbyterian Board of Publication. 75 cents net.

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS

Crammond, E. The British Shipping Industry. Dutton.
Harlow, R. V. The History of Legislative Methods in the Period Before 1825. Yale University Press. $2.25 net.
Jenks, J. W., and Clark, W. E. The Trust Problem. Doubleday, Page. $2 net.
Russian Realities and Problems. Edited by J. D. Duff. Putnam.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Strong, T. G. Joseph H. Choate. Dodd, Mead. $3 net.
Tracy, G. A. Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln. Introduction by Ida M. Tarbell. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50 net.

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POETRY

Masters, E. L. A Treasury of War Poetry. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25 net.

SCIENCE

Chan, Shiu-Wong. The Chinese Cook Book. Stokes. $1.50 net.
Pellett, F. C. Our Backdoor Neighbors. Abingdon Press. $1.50 net.
Personal Hygiene. Edited by W. L. Pyle. Philadelphia: Sauders.

DRAMA AND MUSIC

Smith, N. A. Plays, Pantomimes, and Tableaux for Children. Moffat, Yard. $1 net.
Vanzype, G. Two Belgian Plays. Little, Brown. $1.25 net.
Wollcott, A. Mrs. Fiske: Her Views on the Stage Recorded. Century. $2 net.

ART

Bigelow, F. H. Historic Silver of the Colonies and Its Makers. Macmillan. $6 net.
Rodin, the Man and His Art. Compiled by J. Cladel; translated by S. K. Star. Century. $5.

JUVENILE

Aldon, A. The Island of Appledore. Macmillan. $1.25.
Brunton, F. C. The Enchanted Lochan. Crowell. $1.65 net.

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Summary of the News

THE outstanding event of the week is the amazing counter-revolution against Premier Kerensky at Petrograd by the Bolshevik party of the agitator Lenine. The able Premier of the Provisional Government was driven from the capital, a large majority of his loyal forces deserted him, and the new Bolshevik régime established itself with a full Ministry committed to a three months' armistice and the distribution of all lands among the peasants. The Cossacks, who appear to have been a deciding factor in the *débâcle*, are now reported to be rallying to the support of Kerensky. Moscow, which fell into the hands of the new party, has been recovered, and fighting is expected, as Kerensky is now rallying the loyal forces and preparing to drive the Bolsheviki from Petrograd. The situation is treated elsewhere in our columns.

THERE is little to add to the results of the first contact between American and German troops on the western front recorded last week. It is now apparent that the Germans had planned to capture, and thus verify the presence of American troops, so disproportionate was the amount of artillery fire wasted on this enterprise, and so systematically was it organized. Meanwhile, the forces of Gen. [illegible] and Field-Marshal Haig have been [illegible]mitting in their attentions to the ene[illegible] In Flanders the Canadians have [illegible]d a brilliant victory in seizing the [illegible]ge of Passchendaele, northeast of [illegible], and consolidating the ridge which [illegible]nates the plain of Roulers. The cap[illegible] Passchendaele Ridge is regarded [illegible]mportant feat in establishing Brit[illegible]ntrol over the plain of Roulers, [illegible] the Germans are now reduced to the [illegible]ity of fighting under great disadvan[illegible]ages, with the preponderating fire of the [illegible]itish guns always taking heavy toll. [illegible]fruitless counter-attacks have shown the [illegible]lue the Teutonic command places on [illegible]is position.

AN Allied military and economic conference will be held in Paris this week, in which the United States will participate. A commission has just arrived in Europe, presided over by Col. House, and including Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations; Gen. Bliss, Chief of the General Staff; Assistant Secretary Crosby, of the Treasury Department; Vance C. McCormick, chairman of the War Trade Board; Bainbridge Colby, of the Shipping Board; Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor, of the Food Administration, and Thomas N. Perkins, of the Priority Board. Secretary Lansing announced that this commission would primarily concern itself with plans for perfecting the coöperation between the United States and the Entente in respect of a "war conference," as distinctly apart from any diplomatic measures. Col. House explained in London that the last was not the duty assigned his mission by the President. The arrival of this war mission at a time when Allied strategy is doing its utmost to reorganize the Italian defence against the Teutonic drive, is regarded with great favor in London and Paris as an encouraging omen of future Allied coördination on all fronts, as well as in the more important field of economic resources.

COMPLETE figures for the results of the subscriptions to the second Liberty Loan show that the minimum figure of $3,000,000,000 sought after in the drive was oversubscribed by 54 per cent., but that the maximum figure of $5,000,000,000 was missed by $382,467,700. The total amount of the subscription was $4,617,532,300.

THE Teutonic drive against Gen. Cadorna's forces continues with uniform success, though no reports of Italian military demoralization are as yet current. The Italians are consistently fighting a rear-guard action, having successively delayed the enemy at the Tagliamento, the Livenza, and Piave Rivers. According to last reports, the Teutonic forces have crossed the Piave, and are threatening the Italian flank and the road to Venice. The total number of prisoners taken by the Austro-German forces since the drive began is estimated as exceeding 250,000 men. The town of Belluno, on the upper Piave, and the Vidor bridgehead on the east bank of the Piave, are now in the hands of the enemy. In their retreat the Italians have successfully blown up all bridges, and while isolated units have been imperilled, such units appear to have proved a considerable factor in delaying the advance of the enemy by their conspicuous bravery and sacrifice. In the Trentino the Italians have retaken positions lost in the Sugana Valley. Britis[illegible] French artillery are now repo[illegible] be in positions that cover the I[illegible] treat. As a result of the Allied [illegible] on the Italian crisis, Gen. Cado[illegible] een replaced as commander-in-chi[illegible] Italian army by Gen. Diaz. He ha[illegible]d a controlling position on the [illegible]d council in Italy, with Gen. Foch, French, and Gen. Wilson, of the [illegible]rmies. Gen. Diaz, the new Ital[illegible]lissimo, will be assisted by Ge[illegible]io and Giardino.

THE French, after [illegible] period of inactivity in the V[illegible]ave repulsed a determined German [illegible]k at Hartmanns-Weilerkopf, a [illegible]tegic height which has seen a gr[illegible]al of bloody fighting, and whic[illegible] several times changed hands during the war. After a local and momentary success in this region, the Germans were driven back with heavy loss. Equally futile German raids on the French positions in Flanders are reported, with definite increase of artillery fire all along the French line.

ON the Mesopotamia and Palestine fronts the British forces have followed up their successes of last week. On the Tigris the British-Indian forces gained a victory over the Turks at Tekrit, northwest of Bagdad. In Palestine the Turkish army is in full retreat before the British under Gen. Allenby. Towns familiar in Biblical literature, like Beersheba and Askalon, have fallen. At the latter place the British won a notable success, the Turkish forces having suffered 10,000 casualties and a considerable loss of war material. The British took 710 prisoners and a number of large-calibre guns.

AFTER a campaign that has attracted to New York the interest of the entire country, the city has once more fallen to a Tammany régime, Judge John F. Hylan, of Brooklyn, being elected by a plurality of almost 150,000. The Fusion candidate, John Purroy Mitchel, the outgoing Mayor, won 147,018 votes in New York city, against 291,061 for Hylan, and 136,337 for Morris Hillquit, the Socialist candidate.

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William M. Bennett, the Republican candidate, who ran independently of the majority of his party allied to the Fusion ticket, polled 52,491. Judge Hylan swept every borough, and the victory puts Tammany in control of the important Board of Estimate, as well as of every other department. Against this depressing defeat is to be recorded the remarkable victory gained by woman's suffrage in New York State. The city's boroughs gave a vote of 334,011 in favor of equal suffrage to 241,315 against, a majority of 92,696 votes. Outside the city there was polled a majority of 1,596 for suffrage. The city's majority thus made the victory decisive.

THE Navy Department announces that the patrol boat Alcedo has been torpedoed by a German submarine. One officer and twenty men are missing out of a complement of seven officers and eighty-five men. The Alcedo was a converted yacht, and the flagship of an American patrol flotilla recently sent to British waters to combat the submarine menace. Another submarine victim is the former American steamship Rochester, which was owned by the British Admiralty when torpedoed. The Rochester is remembered as the first American steamship to brave the submarine threat after the declaration of unrestricted warfare by Germany. Despite these sinkings, the week's record of submarine losses has been most favorable for the British as well as for the Allies. It has so happened that a diminution of British losses usually has been offset by French and Italian losses. It is now reported that, in spite of fluctuations, the maximum number of losses is declining.

THE new German Chancellor, after forswearing his promise to the progressive elements in Germany of a Government of a parliamentary nature, attempted to allow the position of Vice-Chancellor to lapse with the resignation of Dr. Karl Helfferich. He has since been forced to capitulate, and has filled the position with Frederick von Payer, who is approved by the Socialists. In the present Reichstag Government the Conservatives are the only faction that is not represented, and this fact is regarded as a significant sign of liberalization and as marking the initiation of the first Parliamentary Cabinet in Prussia and Germany.

AS a result of the recent visit to this country of the Japanese commission, an epochal event is announced in the agreement between the United States and Japan, signed November 2, in which Japan's interests in China are recognized, and under which the United States and Japan reaffirm the "open door" policy of Secretary Hay in China. It is significant to note the following clause: "Moreover, they declare that they are opposed to the acquisition by any Government of any special rights and privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China, or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the full enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China." The United States has also consented to the postponement of the payment of the Boxer indemnity and to the tariff changes which had already been agreed upon by the Powers as concessions to China since the war. Criticism has been aroused in the Chinese press by the recognition by the United States of special Japanese interests in China.

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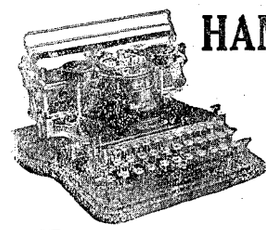

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